MODERN TIMES

甲骨文

从
1920 年代到
1990 年代的
世界

THE WORLD
FROM THE TWENTIES
TO
THE NINETIES

摩登
时代

〔英〕保罗·约翰逊／著
Paul Johnson
秦传安／译

社会科学文献出版社
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保罗·约翰逊，英国著名历史学家。他是我们这个时代最著名的历史学者之一，入选美国《时代》杂志 2000 年一百大人物。1928 年出生于英国兰开夏，牛津大学麦格德林学院毕业。他曾是一名激进的左翼人士，任《新政治家》编辑，但后来在撒切尔夫人的影响下思想右转，并成为支持英国政治保守主义的著名知识分子代表。他撰写了一大批具有里程碑意义的历史著作，涵盖历史、哲学及宗教等领域，包括《论知识分子》《犹太人史》《摩登时代》《美国人民史》《英国人民史》《艺术：一段新历史》等。他定期为全球最著名的报纸及杂志写稿，包括英国《每日电讯报》《纽约时报》《华尔街日报》，他还是《观察家报》《每日邮报》的专栏作家。

秦传安，独立译者。

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[illegible]·[illegible]Paul Johnson[illegible]——[illegible]1920[illegible]1990[illegible]*Modern Times*[illegible]*The World from the Twenties to the Nineties*[illegible]1983[illegible]1990[illegible]20[illegible]

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2015年7月

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1918[illegible]3[illegible]1.745[illegible]——[illegible]1919[illegible]5[illegible]29[illegible]·[illegible]1000[illegible]

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[illegible]W.W. [illegible]1922[illegible]9[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1919[illegible]12[illegible]15[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1923[illegible]1979[illegible]1980[illegible] [5] [illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]

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[illegible]1919[illegible]6[illegible]9[illegible]A.N. [illegible]

> 我们就像合唱队一样，纷纷对一次至关重要的事件发展过程中所揭示出来的命运裁决发表评论。整场演出充满了戏剧色彩——传统的仪式，以及背景上悬挂的牛顿画像，无不提醒我们：眼下，在两百多年之后，历史上最伟大的科学归纳将接受它的第一次修正……思想领域的一场伟大冒险终于功德圆满。[7]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]”[8] [illegible]·[illegible]249[illegible]

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1920[illegible]

[illegible]1920[illegible]9[illegible]9[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[9][illegible]1920[illegible]1955[illegible]“[illegible]”[10][illegible]1920[illegible]

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[illegible]1920[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][17]

[illegible]·[illegible]*The Golden Bough*[illegible]1890[illegible]——[illegible]

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[illegible]50[illegible]1920[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]*Crome Yellow*[illegible]1921[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]1905[illegible]·[illegible]

我们是历史上最伟大的总结性时刻的见证者，以一种新的未知文化的名义，这一文化将由我们来创造，也必将把我们席卷而去。正因为如此，我才毫不犹疑地向着美丽宫殿的残壁颓垣，也向着一种新美学的新戒律，举起我手中的酒杯。作为一个不可救药的享乐主义者，我能表达的唯一希望是，即将到来的这场战斗不要损害了生活中的赏心乐事，死亡就像复活一样美丽，一样明亮。[19]

[illegible]1913[illegible]*Sacre du Printemps*[illegible]·[illegible]3[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1909[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1911[illegible]“[illegible]”[20][illegible]1920[illegible]1914[illegible]1905[illegible]1790[illegible]1830[illegible]1916[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible][21]

[illegible]1918[illegible]11[illegible]9[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]1919[illegible]6[illegible]23[illegible]·[illegible]*à L'Ombre des jeunes filles*[illegible]

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[illegible]-[illegible]1920[illegible]“[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]the sense of guilt[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[30] [illegible]

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[illegible]·[illegible]*Nostromo*[illegible]1904[illegible]*The Secret Agent*[illegible]1907[illegible]*Under Western Eyes*[illegible]1911[illegible]*Victory*[illegible]1915[illegible]·[illegible]1924[illegible]*The Magic Mountain*[illegible]60[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1922[illegible]10[illegible]23[illegible]·[illegible]*The Problem of China*[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]2000[illegible]……[illegible]”[32]

[illegible]-[illegible]H.G. [illegible]*The War That Will End War*[illegible]1920[illegible]J.B. [illegible]*The Idea of Progress*[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[33]

[illegible]·[illegible]

一切时代的一切恐怖行为都被集中到了一起，不仅有军队，还包括全体人民，都被推入了这些恐怖行为当中。那些卷入其中的高度文明的国家都认为——并非毫无理由——它们的生存岌岌可危。无论是平民百姓，还是统治者，对于他们认为能够帮助自己赢得这场战争的任何行为，都不加拒绝。对人性或国际法的每次粗暴践踏都会受到报复——常常是更大规模、更长时间的报复。无论是休战，还是和谈，都没有减缓军队之间的冲突。伤者在两军阵线之间死去，死者朽烂成

泥土。商船、中立国家的船只和医疗船沉没于大海之上，船上的所有人都只能听天由命，或者葬身鱼腹。人们做出各种努力，试图用饥饿让整个国家屈服，不考虑年龄和性别。城市和纪念性建筑被大炮炸得粉碎，来自空中的炸弹不分青红皂白地投掷下来。各种形式的毒瓦斯使士兵窒息而死，或者把他们烧焦。液体燃烧剂被投射到他们的身体上。人从空中掉落在烈火中，或者在海上黑暗的隐蔽之处窒息而死，常常是慢慢地死去。军队的战斗力仅仅受限于他们国家的气魄。整个欧洲及亚洲和非洲的大部分地区都成了巨大的战场，许多年的拼搏厮杀之后，在战场上溃败奔逃的不是军队，而是国家。当一切都结束，那些文明而科学的基督教国家唯一能够拒绝接受的两项权宜之计是酷刑和吃人：它们的效用值得怀疑。[34]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]1917[illegible]“[illegible]”[35][illegible]·[illegible]1916[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[36]

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[illegible]18%[illegible]1906[illegible]13% [38] [illegible]GNP[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]” [39] [illegible] [40] [illegible] [41] [illegible] [42] [illegible]1914[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]” [43]

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5[illegible]·[illegible]*The Promise of American Life*[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]3[illegible]·[illegible]*Concentration and Control*[illegible]*A Solution of the Trust Problem in the United States*[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][47] [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]1918[illegible]7[illegible]4[illegible]100[illegible][48] [illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]1920[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1917[illegible]·[illegible]1960[illegible]

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[illegible]1914[illegible]2.5[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[53][illegible]

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[illegible]1917[illegible]3[illegible]11[illegible][59][illegible]1916[illegible]-[illegible]

[illegible]1915[illegible]4[illegible]26[illegible]1916[illegible]8[illegible]17[illegible]1917[illegible]2[illegible]16[illegible][60]

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[illegible]1917[illegible]10[illegible]25[illegible]12[illegible]12[illegible]*The Manchester Guardian*[illegible]

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看看您面前这些协约国的授权代表吧，这些国家有大有小，在过去4年多的时间里，它们不间断地进行着这场强加给它们的战争。算总账的时刻到了。你们向我们求和。我们愿意把和平给予你们。[75]

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918[illegible]3[illegible]20[illegible]*Three Centuries of Treaties of Peace*[illegible]1917[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]”[illegible]1918[illegible]8[illegible]“[illegible]”[101][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

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[illegible]1948[illegible]1949[illegible][103]

[illegible]·[illegible]1919[illegible]9[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][104]

[illegible]1918[illegible]11[illegible]1917[illegible]4[illegible]2[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]*History of the American People*[illegible]vox populi vox dei[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[105][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]volonté générale[illegible]1919[illegible]4[illegible]——[illegible]1919[illegible]9[illegible]8000[illegible]3[illegible]9[illegible]25[illegible] [106] [illegible]10[illegible]10[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]” [107] [illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]5[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]17[illegible]

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□□1871□□□□□□□□□□□□□□40

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[illegible]1919[illegible]1919[illegible]·[illegible] [117] [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1950[illegible]1960[illegible]

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[illegible]1914[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1919[illegible][118][illegible]1918[illegible]1919[illegible]4000[illegible][119][illegible]7[illegible]27[illegible]8[illegible]1[illegible]36[illegible]536[illegible]1921[illegible]5[illegible]30[illegible]50[illegible]200[illegible][120][illegible]1919[illegible]6[illegible]17[illegible][121][illegible]1919[illegible]1[illegible]31[illegible]1919[illegible]1921[illegible]·[illegible]1921[illegible]4[illegible]4[illegible]4[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[122]

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[illegible]1921[illegible]3[illegible]1938[illegible]1968[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1923[illegible]

[illegible]2700[illegible]300[illegible]30[illegible]1920[illegible]1930[illegible]

[illegible]1918[illegible]“[illegible]”[124]

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[illegible]1912[illegible]1926[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]R.W. [illegible]-[illegible]1921[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible]1928[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[126][illegible]·[illegible][127]

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[illegible]1876[illegible]-[illegible]·[illegible]20[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1916[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]*The Times*[illegible]“[illegible]”[130]

1917[illegible]6[illegible]·[illegible]8[illegible]14[illegible]

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[illegible]1916[illegible]12[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]-[illegible]

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[illegible]36[illegible]

[illegible]10[illegible]1981

[illegible]9[illegible]20[illegible]20[illegible] [141] [illegible]

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[illegible]·[illegible]30[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[144][illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[145][illegible]1921[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]500[illegible]80000[illegible]6000[illegible]400[illegible]175[illegible]1922[illegible]2[illegible]4[illegible]22[illegible][146][illegible]19[illegible]

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[11] Ernest Jones□*The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud*□ed. Lionel Trilling and Steven Marcus□New York 1961□□493ff.

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[16] Letter of 18 December 1912.William McGuire（ed.），*The Freud-Jung Letters*（Eng. tr. London 1971），534-5.

[17] See Freud's essay，‘Psychoanalysis Exploring the Hidden Recesses of the Mind’，in the Encyclopaedia Brittania survey，*These Eventful Years：the Twentieth Century in the Making*（2 vols，New York 1924），Ⅱ 511ff.

[18] Sigmund Freud，*The Future of an Illusion*（London 1927），28.

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[21] There is no evidence they met. The conjunction forms the setting for Tom Stoppard's play *Travesties*（1977）.

[22] George Painter，*Marcel Proust*（2 vols，New York 1978），Ⅱ 293ff.

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[26] Camille Vettard□‘Proust et Einstein’□*Nouvelle Revue Française*□August 1922.

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[45] Riezler's diary□4 August 1917□Fritz Stern□*The Failure of Illiberalism*□London 1972□□'Bethmann Hollweg and the War'□118.

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到处都在进行新的选举：为了住房、贸易、工业和市政服务的经营管理而进行选举。人民委员被任命到每个部门，这些人穿着黑色皮夹克，拥有不受限制的权力和钢铁般的意志，装备着威胁恫吓的手段和左轮手枪，他们很少刮胡子，睡得也较少。他们了解那种胆小如鼠的资产阶级：普普通通的廉价政府股票的持有者，他们和这些人说话的时候没有丝毫怜悯，脸上带着冷酷的笑，就像对待当场被抓住的猥琐小偷。这些人依照计划重新组织一切，一家接一家公司，一家接一家企业，都变得布尔什维克化了。[43]

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> 特别委员会既不是调查委员会，也不是审判法庭。它是一个斗争机构，在内战的后方发挥作用。它不是审判敌人，而是打击敌人。……我们并不是在进行针对个人的战争。我们是在消灭整个资产阶级。我们并不是在寻找证据或证人，以揭露反对苏维埃政权的行为或言论。我们要问的第一个问题是：他属于哪个阶级，他的出身、家庭、教育或职业是什么？这些问题决定了被告的命运。这就是红色恐怖的本质。[67]

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> 国际资产阶级不承认共产主义制度即将取代资本主义，并试图用武力推翻这一制度，不管是借助入侵、封锁、间谍活动、为媒体提供资金，还是借助任何其他手段，而那些宣传、鼓动或参与其影响……可能在最小的方面帮助国际资产阶级的组织或者与这些组织合作的人，都可以被判处死刑或监禁。[107]

[illegible]1922[illegible]5[illegible]17[illegible]“[illegible]”[108][illegible]

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> 在一场真正的革命中，最优秀的品格并不引人注目。暴力革命最初落入了心胸狭隘的狂热分子和专横残暴的伪君子之手。然后轮到那些自命不凡却生不逢时的知识分子。这样一些人是首领和领袖。你会注意到，我省略了纯粹的恶棍。那些认真的人和正直的人，那些高

贵、仁慈而具有献身精神的人，那些无私的人和智慧的人，他们可能会开始一场运动，但这场运动会离他们而去。他们不是一场革命的领袖。他们是革命的受害者，是憎恶和觉醒——常常还有悔恨——的受害者。希望被荒唐地出卖了，理想被漫画化了——这就是革命成功的定义。

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凡是体验过权力——也就是不受限制地凌辱他人的能力——的人……都必然会随心所欲地沉湎于权力。暴政是一种习惯，有它自己的有机生命，最终会发展成一种疾病。即便是最好的人，这种习惯也可能扼杀他，使他变得像野兽一样粗俗。血和权力使人陶醉……人和公民永远死于暴君之手；恢复人的尊严、悔改和重生，几乎是不可能的事。

□□□1921□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□6□4□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□7□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□8□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□9□13□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□3□□□□□12□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1922□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

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2□18□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[109]

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□12□24□□□□□□□“□□”□□□□□□□□□□6□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□”□“□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□12□30□□□1923□1□4□□□□□□“□□”□□□□□□
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[illegible]44.5%[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1917[illegible]76%[illegible]1913[illegible]1.6%[illegible]2.4%[illegible]1920[illegible]12.9% [114] [illegible]1922[illegible]·[illegible]

> 到目前为止，工人是主人，但他们只是极少数……农民数量庞大。……4年来，城市无产阶级稳步下降。……巨大的农民潮将会以吞噬一切而告终。……农民将会成为俄罗斯的主人，因为他代表了数量优势。这对我们的未来是很可怕的。[115]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]” [116] [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]*Will the Bolsheviks Retain State Power*[illegible]*State and Revolution*[illegible]1917[illegible]12[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Vesenkha[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]12[illegible]1917[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]*On‘Left’ Infantilism and the Petty Bourgeois Spirit*[illegible]

> 是的，向德国人学习！历史总是沿着弯弯曲曲的道路前进。碰巧，正是与野蛮的帝国主义并肩而立的德国人，体现了纪律、组织、团结合作（以最现代化的机器为基础）以及严格的会计和控制的原则。这恰好是我们所缺乏的。[117]

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][122][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1918[illegible]4[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[123][illegible]1919[illegible]1[illegible]“[illegible]‘i’[illegible]”[124][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1919[illegible]6[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1920[illegible]1[illegible]

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[illegible]1917[illegible]1918[illegible]1918[illegible]2[illegible]19[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[129] [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]86%[illegible]14%[illegible]1918[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[130] [illegible]25[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——“[illegible]”[illegible]

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[illegible]1921[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][131][illegible]1917[illegible]11[illegible]1%[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]1921[illegible]5[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1921[illegible]2700[illegible]300[illegible]1921[illegible]1922[illegible]·[illegible]60[illegible][132]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[133][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]1919[illegible]*Der Zukunftsstaat*[illegible]“[illegible]

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[illegible]1918[illegible]11[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]1918[illegible]11[illegible]4[illegible]3[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1919[illegible]1[illegible]6[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]2000[illegible]3[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]2[illegible]21[illegible]3[illegible]4[illegible]7[illegible][135][illegible]

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[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]1919[illegible]3[illegible]8[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[136][illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Atatürk[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]9[illegible]11[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]5[illegible][137][illegible]“Avanti[illegible]il Mikado[illegible]”[illegible]1919[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][138][illegible]1914[illegible]1917[illegible]

1919[illegible]3[illegible]23[illegible]·[illegible][139][illegible]

“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]” [140] [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Vivre[illegible]ce n’est pas calculer[illegible]c’est agir[illegible] [141] [illegible]——[illegible]velocizzare l’Italia[illegible]

[illegible] [142] [illegible]169[illegible] [143] [illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible] [144] [illegible]19[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]” [145]

[illegible]1919[illegible]1920[illegible]“[illegible]

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]25[illegible]

[illegible][151] [illegible]1921[illegible]

[illegible][152] [illegible]1921[illegible]5[illegible]35[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1922[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][153] [illegible]1922[illegible]7[illegible]

[illegible]1871[illegible]“[illegible]”“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]1922[illegible]“[illegible]

[illegible]”[154][illegible]

1922[illegible]10[illegible]16[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]4[illegible]4[illegible]*Il Popolo d’Italia*[illegible]I grigioverdi fraternizzano con le Camicie Nere[illegible]10[illegible]28[illegible]28000[illegible]·[illegible]6000[illegible]10[illegible]

[illegible]10[illegible]29[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[155][illegible]

[illegible]1922[illegible]1930[illegible]1924[illegible]4[illegible]

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1924[illegible]·[illegible][157][illegible]1925[illegible]1[illegible]3[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][158][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[159][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[160][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1943[illegible]·[illegible]*Critica fascista*[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][161][illegible]

[illegible]-[illegible]1920[illegible]1923[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]1933[illegible]“[illegible]”[162][illegible]

[illegible]1920[illegible][163][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1917[illegible]14[illegible]50[illegible]1918[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible] [164] [illegible]·[illegible] [165] [illegible]

[1] For a discussion of *Revolutionierungspolitik*□see G.Katkof□*The February Revolution*□London 1967□.

[2] There are various eye-witness accounts of Lenin's return to Russia. See Edmund Wilson□*To the Finland Station*□London 1966 ed.□□468ff.

[3] E.H. Carr□*The Bolshevik Revolution*□*1917-1923*□2 vols□London 1952□□I 77□and There are various eye-witness accounts of Lenin's return to Russia. See Edmund Wilson□*To th*

e Finland Station□London 1966 ed.□□468ff□□78□Edmund Wilson□*To the Finland Station*□London 1966 ed.□□477-8.

[4] David Shub□*Lenin□A Biography*□London 1966□□13-16.

[5] David Shub□*Lenin□A Biography*□London 1966□□39.

[6] J.M. Bochenski□'Marxism-Leninism and Religion'in B. R. Bociurkiw *et al.*□eds□□*Religion and Atheism in the USSR and Eastern Europe*□London 1975□.

[7] V.I. Lenin□'Socialism and Religion'□*Collected Works*□XII 142□all the relevant texts are in *V.I. Lenin ob ateisme i tserkvi*□V.I. Lenin on Atheism and the Church□□Moscow 1969□.

[8] Krupskaya□*Memories of Lenin*□tr. London 1930□□35.

[9] Maxim Gorky□*Days with Lenin*□tr. London 1932□□52.

[10] Lenin□*Collected Works*□XX 102□XXVI 71.

[11] Trotsky□O *Lenine*□Moscow 1924□□148.

[12] Jean Variot□*Propos de Georges Sorel*□Paris 1935□□55.

[13] F.Engels□*The Class War in Germany*□135.

[14] Lenin□*Collected Works*□V 370ff.

[15] Lenin□*Collected Works*□IV 447□466-9.

[16] Vera Zasulich in *Iskra*，25 July 1904.

[17] A.James Gregor，*Italian Fascism and Development Dictatorship*（Princeton 1979）.Olivetti's article was published in *Pagine libere* 1 July 1909.

[18] Benito Mussolini，*Opera Omnia*（36 vols，Florence 1951-63），I 92，103，185-9.

[19] Ernst Nolte，*Three Faces of Fascism*（tr. London 1965），155；see also Nolte's essay‘Marx und Nietzsche im Sozialismus des jungen Mussolini’，*Historische Zeitschrift*，CXCI 2.

[20] Nolte，*Three Faces of Fascism*，154.

[21] Mussolini，*Opera Omnia*，V 346.

[22] A.James，Gregor，*Young Mussolini and the Intellectual Origins of Fascism*（Berkeley 1979）；Denis Mack Smith，*Mussolini*（London 1982），10-12，17，23.

[23] Lenin，*Collected Works*，XVⅢ 44-6.

[24] Lenin，*Collected Works*，XIX 357.

[25] Stalin，*Collected Works*，Ⅵ 333-4.

[26] The‘April Theses’were published in *Pravda*，7 April 1917.

[27] E.H. Carr□*The Bolshevik Revolution□1917-1923*□2 vols□London 1952□□I 40-1.

[28] E.H. Carr□*The Bolshevik Revolution□1917-1923*□2 vols□London 1952□□I 82.

[29] John L.H. Keep□*The Russian Revolution□a study in mass-mobilization*□London 1976□□9.

[30] D.J. Male□*Russian Peasant Organization before Collectivization*□Cambridge 1971□□T.Shanin□*The Awkward Class□Political Sociology of the Peasantry in a Developing Society□Russia 1910-1925*□Oxford 1972□□Moshe Lewin□*Russian Peasants and Soviet Power*□tr. London 1968□.

[31] John L.H. Keep□*The Russian Revolution□a study in mass-mobilization*□London 1976□□172-85.

[32] John L.H. Keep□*The Russian Revolution□a study in mass-mobilization*□London 1976□□207ff.□216.

[33] M.Ferro□*La Révolution*□Paris 1967□□174□183.

[34] E.H. Carr□*The Bolshevik Revolution□1917-1923*□2 vols□London 1952□□I 80.

[35] E.H. Carr□*The Bolshevik Revolution□1917-1923*□2 vols□London 1952□□I 83-6.

[36] E.H. Carr□*The Bolshevik Revolution□1917-1923*□2 vols□London 1952□□I 89.

[37] I asked Kerensky in a BBC TV interview why he did not have Lenin shot. He replied□‘I did not consider him important.’

[38] Lenin□*Collected Works*□XXI 142-8.

[39] E.H. Carr□*The Bolshevik Revolution□1917-1923*□2 vols□London 1952□□I 94-9.

[40] Stalin□*Collected Works*□VI 347.

[41] John Reed□*Ten Days that Shook the World*□Penguin ed. 1966□□38-40□61□117.

[42] See decree in Mervyn Matthews□ed.□□*Soviet Government□A selection of official Documents on Internal Policies*□London 1974□.

[43] Boris Pasternak□*Doctor Zhivago*□London 1961□□194.

[44] Quoted in Victor Woroszynski□*The Life of Mayakovsky*□London 1972□□194.

[45] Nicholas Sukhanov□*The Russian Revolution*□Oxford 1955□□518.

[46] G.Vellay□ed.□□*Discourses et Rapports de Robespierre*□Paris 1908□□332.

[47] *Karl Marx-Friedrich Engels□Historisch-Kritische Gesamtausgabe*□Ier Teil□Ⅶ 423□see E.H. Carr□*The Bolshevik Revolution□1917-1923*□2 vols□London 1952□□I 155.

[48] *Bericht über den Gründungsparteitag der Kommunistischen Partei Deutschlands□Spartakusbund□*□Berlin 1919□□52.

[49] Figure quoted by Alexander Solzhenitsyn□speech in Washington□30 June 1975□*Alexander Solzhenitsyn Speaks to the West*□London 1978□.

[50] E.H. Carr□*The Bolshevik Revolution□1917-1923*□2 vols□London 1952□□I 153. There are various eye-witness accounts of Lenin's return to Russia. See Edmund Wilson□*To the Finland Station*□London 1966 ed.□□468ff.

[51] Lenin□*Collected Works*□Ⅳ 108.

[52] V.Adoratsky□*Vospominaniya o Lenine*□1939□□66-7□V.Bonch-Bruevich□*Na Boevykh Postakh Fevral'skoi i Oktyabr'skoi Revolyutsii*□1930□□195□both quoted in E.H. Carr□*The Bolshevik Revolution□1917-1923*□2 vols□London 1952□□I 156-7. David Shub□*Lenin□A Biography*□London 1966□□13-16.

[53] Trotsky□*Collected Works*□Ⅱ 202.

[54] See Lenin□*Collected Works*□XXⅡ 78.

[55] E.H. Carr□*The Bolshevik Revolution□1917-1923*□2 vols□London 1952□□I 158. E.H. Carr□*The Bolshevik Revolution□1917-1923*□2 vols□London 1952□□I 77□and There are various eye-witness accounts of Lenin's return to Russia. See Edmund Wilson□*To the Finland Station*□London 1966 ed.□□468 ff□□78□Edmund Wilson□*To the Finland Station*□London 1966 ed.□□477-8□*The History of the Civil War in the USSR*□Ⅱ□tr. London 1947□□599-601□J.Bunyan and H.H. Fisher□*The Bolshevik Revolution 1917-1918*□Stanford 1934□□297-8.

[56] E.H. Carr□*The Bolshevik Revolution□1917-1923*□2 vols□London 1952□□I 157.

[57] George Leggett□*The Cheka□Lenin's Political Police*□Oxford 1981□.

[58] Alexander Solzhenitsyn□speech in Washington□30 June 1975□*Alexander Solzhenitsyn Speaks to the West*□London 1978□.

[59] E.H. Carr□*The Bolshevik Revolution□1917-1923*□2 vols□London 1952□□I 158-9.

[60] E.H. Carr□*The Bolshevik Revolution□1917-1923*□2 vols□London 1952□□I 159.

[61] George Leggett□*The Cheka□Lenin's Political Police*□Oxford 1981□.

[62] Lenin□*Collected Works*□XXⅡ 166-7□243□449□493.

[63] *Pravda*□23 February 1918□J.Bunyan and H.H. Fisher□*The Bolshevik Revolution 1917-1918*□Stanford 1934□□576.

[64] Quoted in George Leggett□*The Cheka□Lenin's Political Police*□Oxford 1981□.

[65] Quoted in George Leggett□*The Cheka□Lenin's Political Police*□Oxford 1981□.

[66] Douglas Brown□*Doomsday 1917□the Destruction of Russia's Ruling Class*□London 1975□□173-4.

[67] Quoted in Harrison Salisbury□*Black Night□White Snow□Russia's Revolutions□1905-1917*□London 1978□□565

[68] Lenin□*Collected Works*□XXⅡ 109-10.

[69] Lenin□*Collected Works*□XXⅡ 131-4.

[70] *Izvestiya*□22 December 1917.

[71] E.H. Carr□*The Bolshevik Revolution□1917-1923*□2 vols□London 1952□□I 117-18.

[72] E.H. Carr□*The Bolshevik Revolution□1917-1923*□2 vols□London 1952□□I 119. There are various eye-witness acc

ounts of Lenin's return to Russia. See Edmund Wilson，*To the Finland Station*（London 1966 ed.），120.

[73] Hajo Holborn，*A History of Modern Germany 1840-1945*（London 1969），490.

[74] Martin Gilbert，*Winston S. Churchill*（5 vols，to date，with companion volumes，London，1966-），IV 220.

[75] J.M. Thompson，*Russia，Bolshevism and the Versailles Peace*（Princeton 1966）.

[76] Martin Gilbert，*Winston S. Churchill*（5 vols，to date，with companion volumes，London，1966-），IV 225.

[77] Martin Gilbert，*Winston S. Churchill*（5 vols，to date，with companion volumes，London，1966-），IV 227，278，235，275，362-4.

[78] Martin Gilbert，*Winston S. Churchill*（5 vols，to date，with companion volumes，London，1966-），IV 257-9.

[79] Martin Gilbert，*Winston S. Churchill*（5 vols，to date，with companion volumes，London，1966-），IV 244，228，305-6，261.

[80] Martin Gilbert，*Winston S. Churchill*（5 vols，to date，with companion volumes，London，1966-），IV 342. There are various eye-witness accounts of Lenin's return to Russia. Se

e Edmund Wilson，*To the Finland Station*（London 1966 ed.），468ff.

[81] Martin Gilbert，*Winston S. Churchill*（5 vols，to date，with companion volumes，London，1966-），IV 316.

[82] E.g.，General Sir H.C. Holman's telegram to Churchill of 8 January 1920，printed Martin Gilbert，*Winston S. Churchill*（5 vols，to date，with companion volumes，London，1966-），IV 366-7.

[83] E.H. Carr，*The Bolshevik Revolution，1917-1923*（2 vols，London 1952），I 263ff.，291-305，and note B 410ff.

[84] Stalin，*Collected Works*，IV 31-2.

[85] Leon Trotsky，*Stalin*（New York 1946），279.

[86] E.H. Carr，*The Bolshevik Revolution，1917-1923*（2 vols，London 1952），I 364.

[87] E.H. Carr，*The Bolshevik Revolution，1917-1923*（2 vols，London 1952），I 380-409.

[88] E.H. Carr，*The Bolshevik Revolution，1917-1923*（2 vols，London 1952），I 141.

[89] E.H. Carr，*The Bolshevik Revolution，1917-1923*（2 vols，London 1952），I 143.

[90] Bertrand Russell□*The Practice and Theory of Bolshevism*□London 1920□□26.

[91] For the Kronstadt affair see Leonard Schapiro□*The Origin of the Communist Autocracy*□London 2nd ed.□1977□□301-14.

[92] Lenin□*Collected Works*□XXVI 352.

[93] Lenin□*Collected Works*□XXVI 208.

[94] E.H. Carr□*The Bolshevik Revolution□1917-1923*□2 vols□London 1952□□221-2.

[95] E.H. Carr□*The Bolshevik Revolution□1917-1923*□2 vols□London 1952□□205-8.

[96] S.Liberman□*Building Lenin’s Russia*□Chicago 1945□□13.

[97] Lydia Bach□*Le Droit et les Institutions de la Russie Soviétique*□Paris 1923□□48.

[98] Leonard Schapiro□*The Origin of the Communist Autocracy*□London 2nd ed.□1977□□343.

[99] E.H. Carr□*The Bolshevik Revolution□1917-1923*□2 vols□London 1952□□I 190 footnote 3.

[100] Lenin□*Collected Works*□XXVI 227.

[101] Quoted in Leonard Schapiro□*The Origin of the Communist Autocracy*□London 2nd ed.□1977□□320.

[102] T.H. Rigby□*Lenin's Government□Sovnarkom□1917-1922*□Cambridge 1979□□236-7.

[103] Leonard Schapiro□*The Origin of the Communist Autocracy*□London 2nd ed.□1977□□322□E.H. Carr□*The Bolshevik Revolution□1917-1923*□2 vols□London 1952□□I 204-5.

[104] E.H. Carr□*The Bolshevik Revolution□1917-1923*□2 vols□London 1952□□I 213.

[105] Lenin□*The State and the Revolution*□1917□.

[106] Lenin□*Collected Works*□XXVⅡ 239-40.

[107] Lenin□*Collected Works*□XXVⅡ 296.

[108] T.H. Rigby□*Lenin's Government□Sovnarkom□1917-1922*□Cambridge 1979□□191-2.

[109] Ronald Hingley□*Joseph Stalin□Man and Legend*□London 1974□□141.

[110] Leonard Schapiro□*The Origin of the Communist Autocracy*□London 2nd ed.□1977□□320.

[111] Ronald Hingley□*Joseph Stalin□Man and Legend*□London 1974□□144-5.

[112] Lincoln Steffens，*Autobiography*（*New York 1931*），*791-2*；*William* Bullitt，*The Bullitt Mission to Russia*（New York 1919）.

[113] E.H. Carr，*The Bolshevik Revolution，1917-1923*，2 vols（London 1952），Ⅱ 24.

[114] John L.H. Keep，*The Russian Revolution：a study in mass-mobilization*（London 1976），261.

[115] A.Moriset，*Chez Lénine et Trotski à Moscou*（Paris 1922），240-2.

[116] K.Marx，*Capital*，Ⅱ chapter XⅥ；*Communist Manifesto*；*Critique of the Gotha Programme*.

[117] Lenin，*Collected Works*，XXⅡ 378.

[118] Lenin，*Collected Works*，XXⅡ 516-17.Lenin later dropped this reference to Peter the Great，the only time he ever openly compared himself to the Tsars.

[119] E.H. Carr，*The Bolshevik Revolution，1917-1923*，2 vols（London 1952），Ⅱ 68.

[120] Lenin，*Collected Works*，XXⅡ 493.

[121] E.H. Carr，*The Bolshevik Revolution，1917-1923*，2 vols（London 1952），Ⅱ 102-8.

[122] Lenin，*Collected Works*，XX 417.

[123] E.H. Carr□*The Bolshevik Revolution□1917-1923*□2 vols□London 1952□□Ⅱ 109-10.

[124] E.H. Carr□*The Bolshevik Revolution□1917-1923*□2 vols□London 1952□□Ⅱ 202. There are various eye-witness accounts of Lenin's return to Russia. See Edmund Wilson□*To the Finland Station*□London 1966 ed.□□468ff.

[125] E.H. Carr□*The Bolshevik Revolution□1917-1923*□2 vols□London 1952□□Ⅱ 209-10.

[126] Legal enactments are□*Sobranie Uzakonenii□1919*□No.12 article 124□No.20 article 235□No.12 article 130 etc.

[127] E.H. Carr□*The Bolshevik Revolution□1917-1923*□2 vols□London 1952□□Ⅱ 212-13□*Izvestia*□2 April 1920□*Sobranie Uzakonenii 1920*□No.35 article 169.

[128] E.H. Carr□*The Bolshevik Revolution□1917-1923*□2 vols□London 1952□□Ⅱ 215-16.

[129] *Sobranie Uzakonenii□1918*□Article 11□e□.

[130] Lenin□*Collected Works*□XXⅡ 356-7.

[131] Lenin□*Collected Works*□XXⅥ 204.

[132] For nep see E.H. Carr□*The Bolshevik Revolution□1917-1923*□2 vols□London 1952□□Ⅱ 273-82.

[133] Lenin□*Collected Works*□XXⅦ 35.

[134] Lenin□*Collected Works*□XXV 389□491□*Pravda*□22 February 1921.

[135] Hajo Holborn□*A History of Modern Germany 1840-1945*□London 1969□□512-13□526-32□Sebastian Haffner□*Failure of a Revolution□Germany* 1918-1919□London 1973□.

[136] For Gömbös□see Carlile A.MacCartney□*October 15□A History of Modern Hungary 1929-1945*□2 vols□Edinburgh 1956□.

[137] □fasces□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□

[138] David O.Roberts□*The Syndicalist Tradition and Italian Fascism*□Manchester 1979□.

[139] Mussolini□*Opera Omnia*□XⅢ 170.

[140] Ernst Nolte□*Three Faces of Fascism*□tr. London 1965□□10.

[141] Mussolini□*Opera Omnia*□Ⅲ 206□V 67.

[142] Luigi Barzini□*From Caesar to the Mafia□sketches of Italian life*□London 1971□□139.

[143] Figure given in Giordano Bruno Guerri□*Galeazzo Ciano□una vita 1903-1944*□Milan 1980□.

[144] G. d’Annunzio□‘Il Trionfo della Norte’□*Prose di Romani*□Milan 1954□□I 958.

[145] Mussolini□*Opera Omnia*□Ⅵ 82□Ⅵ 248.

[146] Mussolini□*Opera Omnia*□XⅣ 60.

[147] See Walter L.Adamson□*Hegemony and Revolution□Antonio Gramsci's Political and Cultural Theory*□University of California 1980□.

[148] Quoted in Angelo Tasca□*Nascita e avvento del fascismo*□Florence 1950□□78.

[149] For socialist violence□see Giorgio Alberto Chiurco□*Storia della rivoluzione fascista*□5 vols□Florence 1929-□□Ⅱ 78□168.

[150] Mussolini□*Opera* Omnia□XV 267.

[151] Giorgio Rochat□*Italo Balbo□aviatore e ministro dell’aeronautica□1926-1933*□Bologna 1979□.

[152] Mussolini□*Opera Omnia*□XⅥ 31□XI 344□XⅥ 44□276□288□241.

[153] Angelo Tasca□*Nascita e avvento del fascismo*□Florence 1950□□276□Ernst Nolte□*Three Faces of Fascism*□tr. London 1965□□210-11.

[154] Mussolini□*Opera Omnia*□XⅧ 581.

[155] The incident is described in Ivone Kirkpatrick□*Mussolini□Study of a Demagogue*□London 1964□□144.

[156] Mussolini*Opera Omnia*XIX 196.

[157] Gaetano Salvemini*La Terreur Fasciste*Paris 1930.

[158] Mussolini*Opera Omnia*XX 379.

[159] Mussolini*Opera Omnia*XXⅡ 109.

[160] Mussolini*Opera Omnia*XXIX 2.

[161] Quoted in David O.Roberts*The Syndicalist Tradition and Italian Fascism*Manchester 1979301.

[162] 13th Plenary Session of the Executive Committee of the Communist InternationalDecember 1933quoted in Ernst Nolte*Three Faces of Fascism*tr. London 1965210-11.

[163] Arthur Koestler‘Whereof one cannot speak’*Kaleidoscope*London 1981323ff.

[164] For the malaria problemsee Norman Douglas*Old Calabria*London 1915chapter 34.

[165] Sergio Romano*Giuseppe VolpiIndustria e finanza tra Giolitti e Mussolini*Milan 1979.

3. [illegible]

1918[illegible]11[illegible]10[illegible]·[illegible]29[illegible]10[illegible]13[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[1][illegible]

[illegible]1918[illegible]-[illegible]70%[illegible]40%[illegible]“[illegible]”[2][illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

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[illegible]400[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]*Simplicissimus*[illegible]·[illegible]*Frankfurter Zeitung*[illegible]1920[illegible][18]

[illegible]1920[illegible]·[illegible]1918[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]*Drums in the Night*[illegible]1922[illegible]24[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]*The Threepenny Opera*[illegible]1928[illegible]4000[illegible][19][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible][20][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]*Der fröhliche Weinberg*[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[21]

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[illegible]1914[illegible]Zivilisation[illegible]Kultur[illegible]1920[illegible]·[illegible]*Kurfürstendamm*[illegible]

一个奇迹发生了。他们不再在这里了。……他们声称他们是德意志的灵魂、德意志的文化、德意志的今天和未来。他们对世界代表德国，他们以德国的名义发言。……其他每一样东西都是错误的、低级的、令人遗憾的拙劣之作，都是令人憎恶的庸俗之作……他们始终坐在前排。他们授予精神和欧洲主义骑士称号。他们不允许的东西都不存在。……他们“造就”自己和别人。凡是为他们效劳的人都肯定成功，都会出现在他们的舞台上，在他们的杂志上发表文章，被满世界宣传；其产品被大力推荐，不管是奶酪还是相对论，是香粉还是《时代剧场》（*Zeittheater*），是专利药还是人权，是民主还是布尔什维克主义，是宣传堕胎还是反对法律体制，是腐朽的黑人音乐还是裸体舞。简言之，再也没有比民主知识界和读写文明的独裁更加粗俗的独裁了。[28]

[illegible]Judenrepublik[illegible]1925[illegible]KPD[illegible]1932[illegible]500[illegible][29][illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible][30][illegible]1920[illegible]·[illegible]1920[illegible]·[illegible]

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]*Der Wehrwolf*[illegible]1910[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”“[illegible]”“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]*Peer Gynt*[illegible]

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[illegible]1920[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1918[illegible]·[illegible]*Die Sünde wider das Blut*[illegible]1919[illegible]“[illegible]”[40][illegible]

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[illegible]1918[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]1917[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]—[illegible]*Münchener Beobachter*[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]*Völkische Beobachter*[illegible]——[illegible]3000[illegible]“[illegible]”[43][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible][44][illegible]1918[illegible]

[illegible]1919[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][45][illegible]1945[illegible]

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[illegible]1921[illegible]8[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1918[illegible]

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[illegible]1920[illegible]3[illegible]·[illegible]1917[illegible]4[illegible]5[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]4[illegible]·

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1922[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][48][illegible]1923[illegible]“[illegible]”[49]

[illegible]1920[illegible]1920[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1922[illegible]4[illegible]1919[illegible]1922[illegible]354[illegible]22[illegible]10[illegible]28[illegible]15[illegible]326[illegible]50[illegible]24[illegible]4[illegible][50]

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[illegible]*History of Germany in the Nineteenth Century*[illegible]1920[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible] [51]

[illegible]1920[illegible]·[illegible]*The Decline of the West*[illegible]1911[illegible]1918[illegible]8[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible] [52] [illegible]1920[illegible]

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[illegible]*The Third Reich*[illegible][54]

[illegible]——[illegible]10[illegible]——[illegible]1920[illegible][55][illegible]1914[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1922[illegible]·[illegible]1920[illegible]1929[illegible]

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[illegible]polis[illegible]*Mein Kampf*[illegible]“[illegible]”[67][illegible]“[illegible]”[68][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]son et lumière[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]1920[illegible]8[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[69]

[illegible]1929[illegible]3[illegible]8[illegible]—[illegible]·[illegible][70][illegible][71][illegible]H.R. [illegible]“[illegible]·[illegible]”[72] [73][illegible]“[illegible]”[74][illegible]“[illegible]”

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[illegible]1914[illegible]·[illegible]15[illegible]100[illegible]1939[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”“[illegible]”[illegible]

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[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]1917[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]1922[illegible]

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[illegible]1923[illegible]1[illegible]1923[illegible]A.P. [illegible]40[illegible]7[illegible]15[illegible]4[illegible]11[illegible]30[illegible]4000×10^{18}[illegible]35%[illegible]18%[illegible]6[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]8[illegible]13[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]100[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]11[illegible]8[illegible]3000[illegible]5[illegible][78][illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]6[illegible]35[illegible]“[illegible]”[79][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][80][illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]18[illegible]5[illegible]1923[illegible]

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[illegible]1924[illegible]2[illegible]19[illegible]D.H. [illegible] [82] [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1921[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]……[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible]

> 夜里，你感觉到陌生的事物在黑暗中搅动。……有一种危险感……一种古怪的、让人毛骨悚然的、神秘的危险感……和平与生产的希望破灭了。古老的潮流、古老的忠诚断裂了。一种更加古老的潮流开始上涨。回到《条约》的野蛮一极，远离文明化基督教欧洲的那一极。在我看来，此事已经发生。它有远比其他任何实际事件更加深远的重要性。它是下一阶段事件的生身之父。

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Volkswagen[illegible]1924[illegible]12[illegible]20[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]26000[illegible]

[1] Adolf Hitler，*Mein Kampf*，202-4；Joachim Fest，*Hitler*（tr. London 1977），117.

[2] Hajo Holborn，*A History of Modern Germany 1840-1945*（London 1969），487.

[3] Hajo Holborn，*A History of Modern Germany 1840-1945*（London 1969），561.

[4] Hajo Holborn，*A History of Modern Germany 1840-1945*（London 1969），602。

[5] Translated as F.Fischer，*Germany's Aims in the First World War*（London 1967）.

[6] For the Fischer controversy，see Fritz Stem，*The Failure of Illiberalism*（London 1972）；*International Affairs*（1968）.

[7] J.Tampke，‘Bismarck's Social Legislation：a Genuine Breakthrough？’in W.J. Mommsen（ed.），*The Emergence of the Welfare State in Britain and Germany，1850-1950*（London 1981），71ff.

[8] Fritz Fischer，*The War of Illusions：German Policies from 1911 to 1914*（tr. London 1975）.

[9] Riezler's diary，18 April 1915. Quoted in J.P. Stern，*Nietzsche*（London 1978），93.

[10] Riezler's diary，4 October 1915.

[11] Riezler's diary□1 October 1918.

[12] Hajo Holborn□*A History of Modern Germany 1840-1945*□London 1969□□562-3.

[13] J.P. Stern□*Nietzsche*□London 1978□□118.

[14] Gerhard Ritter□*Staatskunst und Kriegshandwerk*□2nd ed.□Munich 1965□□2 vols□II 129.

[15] Hajo Holborn□*A History of Modern Germany 1840-1945*□London 1969□□514.

[16] Hajo Holborn□*A History of Modern Germany 1840-1945*□London 1969□□519-21.

[17] George L.Mosse□*The Crisis of German Ideology*□London 1966□□Fritz Stern□*The Politics of Cultural Despair*□Berkeley 1961□.

[18] Walter Laqueur□*Weimar□a Cultural History□1918-1933*□London 1974□□27-30.

[19] Martin Esslin□*Brecht□the Man and his Work*□London 1959□□John Willett□*The Theatre of Bertolt Brecht*□London 1959□.

[20] H.F. Garten□*Modern German Drama*□London 1958□.

[21] Walter Laqueur□*Weimar□a Cultural History□1918-1933*□London 1974□□36.

[22] Frederich V.Grunfeld□*Prophets Without Honour□a Background to Freud□Kafka□Einstein and their World*□New York 1979□.

[23] Walter Laqueur□*Weimar□a Cultural History□1918-1933*□London 1974□□155.

[24] Roger Manvell and Heinrich Fraenkel□*The German Cinema*□London 1971□□Lotte Eisner□*The Haunted Screen*□London 1969□.

[25] Roger Manvell and Heinrich Fraenkel□*The German Cinema*□London 1971□□Lotte Eisner□*The Haunted Screen*□London 1969□.

[26] Arts Council□*Neue Sachlichkeit and German Realism of the Twenties*□London 1979□.

[27] Kurt Tucholsky□*Deutchland□Deutchland uber alles*□Berlin 1931□.See Harold Poor□*Kurt Tucholsky and the Ordeal of Germany 1914-1935*□New York 1969□.

[28] Quoted in Walter Laqueur□*Weimar□a Cultural History□1918-1933*□London 1974□□81.

[29] See Ruth Fischer□*Stalin and German Communism*□London 1948□.

[30] See Fritz Stem□*Gold and Iron*□London 1977□.

[31] Frederich V.Grunfeld□*Prophets Without Honour□a Background to Freud□Kafka□Einstein and their World*□New York 1979□□26-7□Walter Laqueur□*Weimar□a Cultural History□1918-1933*□London 1974□□73.

[32] F.Nietzsche□*Zur Genealogie der Moral*□1887□.

[33] *Die Tat*□April 1925.

[34] Gerhard Loose□‘The Peasant in Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl's Sociological and Novelistic Writings’□*Germanic Review*□XV□1940□.

[35] George L.Mosse□*The Crisis of German Ideology*□London 1966□□23.

[36] George L.Mosse□*The Crisis of German Ideology*□London 1966□□171ff.□112□82.

[37] Walter Laqueur□*Weimar□a Cultural History□1918-1933*□London 1974□□87.

[38] For Lagarde and Lengbehn□see Fritz Stern□*The Politics of Cultural Despair*.

[39] George L.Mosse□*The Crisis of German Ideology*□London 1966□□96-7.

[40] George L.Mosse□*The Crisis of German Ideology*□London 1966□□143.

[41] Quoted in Walter Laqueur□*Weimar□a Cultural History□1918-1933*□London 1974□□75.

[42] Quoted in Walter Laqueur□*Weimar□a Cultural History□1918-1933*□London 1974□□76.

[43] Joachim Fest□*Hitler*□tr. London 1977□□138.

[44] H-P Ullmann□'German Industry and Bismarck's Social Security System'□in W.J. Mommsen□ed.□□*The Emergence of the Welfare State in Britain and Germany□1850-1950*□London 1981□□133ff.

[45] Max Weber□'Politics as Vocation'□printed as *Gesammelte Politische Schriften*□Munich 1921□.

[46] K. Hornung□*Der Jungdeutsche Orden*□Dusseldorf 1958□.

[47] Georg Franz-Willing□*Die Hitlerbewegung* 2 vols□Hamburg 1926□□I82.

[48] Hajo Holborn□*A History of Modern Germany 1840-1945*□London 1969□□585.

[49] Hajo Holborn□*A History of Modern Germany 1840-1945*□London 1969□□586.

[50] Figures from E.J. Gumpel□*Vier Jahre politischer Mord*□Berlin 1922□□quoted in Frederich V.Grunfeld□*Prophets With*

out Honour□a Background to Freud□Kafka□Einstein and their World□New York 1979□□211□footnote.

[51] Fritz K. Ringer□*The Decline of the German Mandarins□the German Academic Community□1890-1933*□Harvard 1969□□446□Walter Laqueur□*Weimar□a Cultural History□1918-1933*□London 1974□□189.

[52] Hajo Holborn□*A History of Modern Germany 1840-1945*□London 1969□□658.

[53] Joseph Bendersky□‘The Expendable *Kronjurist*□Carl Schmitt and National Socialism 1933-6’□*Journal of Contemporary History*□14□1979□□309-28.

[54] For van den Bruck see Fritz Stern□*The Politics of Cultural Despair*.

[55] Michael Steinberg□*Sabres and Brownshirts□the German Students’Path to National Socialism 1918-1935*□Chicago 1977□□7.

[56] Walter Laqueur□*Weimar□a Cultural History□1918-1933*□London 1974□□186.

[57] Istavan Meszaros□*Marx's Theory of Alienation*□London 1970□□29-30.

[58] Robert S. Wistrich□*Revolutionary Jews from Marx to Trotsky*□London 1976□.

[59] Quoted in Robert S. Wistrich□'Marxism and Jewish Nationalism□the Theoretical Roots of Contradiction'in *The Left Against Zion*□London 1981□□3.

[60] Walter Laqueur□*Weimar□a Cultural History□1918-1933*□London 1974□□103. Hubert Lanzinger's portrait of Hitler as a knight is reproduced as plate 31 in Joseph Wulf□*Die Cildenden Künste im Dritten Reich*□Gutersloh 1963□.

[61] Joachim Fest□*Hitler*□tr. London 1977□□76.

[62] Joachim Fest□*Hitler*□tr. London 1977□□32.

[63] August Kubizek□*Young Hitler□the story of our friendship*□tr. London 1954□□140f.

[64] Wilfried Daim□*Der Mann□der Hitler□die Ideengab*□Munich 1958□.

[65] Hans Jürgen Syberberg□'Hitler□Artiste d'Etat et l'Avant-Garde Méphistophélique du XXe siècle'in *Les Réalismes 1919-1939*□Paris 1980□□378-403.

[66] Adolf Hitler□*Monologe im Führerhauptquartier 1941-1944*□Hamburg 1980□□54□90□331.

[67] Hitler□*Mein Kampf*□474ff.

[68] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□

[69] Joachim Fest□*Hitler*□tr. London 1977□□482.

[70] William Carr□*Hitler□a Study in Personality and Politics*□London 1978□□2-3.

[71] Joachim Fest□*Hitler*□tr. London 1977□□489.

[72] H.P. Knickerbocker□*The German Crisis*□New York 1932□□227.

[73] □□□□□□□□——□□□

[74] Weigand von Miltenberg□*Adolf Hitler Wilhelm Ⅲ*□Berlin 1931□□Ⅱ.

[75] Max H.Kele□*The Nazis and the Workers*□Chapel Hill 1972□argues that Hitler had a powerful working-class following□J. Noakes□*The Nazi Party in Lower Saxony 1921-1933*□Oxford 1971□□and R. Heberle□*From Democracy to Nazism*□Baton Rouge 1970□put the opposite case.

[76] W. Carr□*Hitler□a Study in Personality and Politics*□London 1978□□6.

[77] Hajo Holborn□*A History of Modern Germany 1840-1945*□London 1969□□596-8.

[78] Joachim Fest□*Hitler*□tr. London 1977□□271-88.

[79] Ernst Hanstaengl□*Zwischen weissem und brannen Haus* □Munich 1970□□114.

[80] Werner Maser□*Hitler's Mein Kampf□an Analysis*□London 1970□□see also his *Hitler□Legend□Myth and Reality*□New York 1973□.

[81] Hitler□*Mein Kampf*□654.

[82] Lawrence's‘Letter’was first published in the *New Statesman*□13 October 1924□reprinted in *Phoenix*□London 1936□□107-10.

4. [illegible]

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[illegible]*General Theory of Employment*[illegible]*Interest and Money*[illegible]1936[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]1890[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]*Imperialism*[illegible]1902[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][53][illegible]

[illegible]1900[illegible]“[illegible]”[54][illegible][55][illegible]1910[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]1916[illegible]*Imperialism*[illegible]*The Highest Stage of Capitalism*[illegible]

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[illegible]·[illegible]1924[illegible][126][illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][127][illegible]

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[illegible]1912[illegible]1926[illegible]1926[illegible]1945[illegible][24][illegible]1920[illegible]·[illegible]6[illegible]“[illegible]

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要逃脱人口过剩的压力，留给日本的出路只有三条……移民、进军世界市场和领土扩张。第一扇门（移民）被其他国家的反日政策给

堵死了。第二扇门……被关税壁垒和通商条约的废除给关上了。当三扇门当中的两扇被关上了，日本该怎么办？[33]

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1900[illegible]“[illegible]”[34][illegible]“[illegible]”[35]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]‘[illegible]’[36][illegible]”[37][illegible]1941[illegible]1920[illegible]

[illegible]19[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]3000[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]1896[illegible][38][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1904[illegible]1906[illegible]1908[illegible]

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[illegible]1910[illegible]17[illegible][39][illegible]——[illegible]1916[illegible]les délices de l’anarchie[illegible]

[illegible]1848[illegible]1912[illegible]1916[illegible]5[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]

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1924[illegible]60[illegible]1925[illegible]3[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[45][illegible]

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[illegible][46][illegible]1926[illegible]2[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]……[illegible]”[47]

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[1] L. Mosley□*Hirohito□Emperor of Japan*□London 1966□□2□21□23 footnote.

[2] David James□*The Rise and Fall of the Japanese Empire*□London 1951□□175.

[3] See Kurt Singer□*Mirror□Sword and Jewel□a study of Japanese characteristics*□London 1973□□98-100.

[4] Fosco Maraini□*Japan□Patterns of Continuity*□Palo Alto 1971□□191.

[5] Chie Nakane□*Japanese Society*□London 1970□□149.

[6] George Macklin Wilson□‘Time and History in Japan’□in Special Issue□‘Across Cultures□Meiji Japan and the Western World’□*American Historical Review*□June 1980□557-72.

[7] Kurt Singer□*Mirror□Sword and Jewel□a study of Japanese characteristics*□London 1973□□147□Tetsuro Watsuji□*A Climate□a Philosophical Study*□Tokyo 1961□.

[8] W.G. Beasley□*The Modern History of Japan*□London 1963 ed.□□212-17.

[9] Robert E. Ward and Dankwart A. Rustow□eds□□*Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey*□Princeton 1964□.

[10] Kurt Singer□*Mirror□Sword and Jewel□a study of Japanese characteristics*□London 1973□□57-8□71ff.

[11] I. Nitobe□*Bushido*□London 1907□□see also Sir George Sansom□*Japan□a short cultural history*□New York 1943□□495.

[12] B. Hall Chamberlain□*Things Japanese*□London 1927□□564.

[13] In William Stead□ed.□□*Japan by the Japanese* □London 1904□□266□279.

[14] Ito Hirobumi□‘Some Reminiscences’in S. Okuma□ed.□□*Fifty Years of New Japan*□2 vols□London 1910□□I 127.

[15] Chie Nakane□*Kinship and Economic Organization in Rural Japan*□London 1967□□and his *Japanese Society*□London 1970□.

[16] Ozaki Yukio□*The Voice of Japanese Democracy*□Yokohama 1918□□90f.

[17] W.G. Beasley□*The Modern History of Japan*□London 1963 ed.□□226-7.

[18] A.M. Young□*Japan under Taisho Tenno*□London 1928□□280.

[19] W.G. Beasley□*The Modern History of Japan*□London 1963 ed.□□237-9.

[20] David James□*The Rise and Fall of the Japanese Empire*□London 1951□□162.

[21] Hugh Byas□*Government by Assassination*□London 1943□□173-92.

[22] Hugh Byas□*Government by Assassination*□London 1943□□173-92.

[23] Quoted in Harold S. Quigley and John E. Turner□*The New Japan□Government and Politics*□Minneapolis 1956□□35.

[24] David James□*The Rise and Fall of the Japanese Empire*□London 1951□□Appendix Ⅷ□376.

[25] David James□*The Rise and Fall of the Japanese Empire*□London 1951□□Appendix Ⅷ□163-4.

[26] Richard Storry□*The Double Patriots*□London 1957□□52.

[27] A.M. Young□*Imperial Japan 1926-1928*□London 1938□□179-80.

[28] Hugh Byas□*Government by Assassination*□London 1943□□17-31□41-2.

[29] For examples see Young□*Japan under Taisho Tenno*.

[30] Joyce Lebra□*Japan's Greater East-Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere in World War Two*□London 1975□.

[31] M.D. Kennedy□*The Estrangement of Great Britain and Japan 1917-1935*□Manchester 1969□.

[32] David James□*The Rise and Fall of the Japanese Empire*□London 1951□□16□W.G. Beasley□*The Modern History of Japan*□London 1963 ed.□□218.

[33] Quoted in W.T. deBary□ed.□□*Sources of the Japanese Tradition*□New York 1958□□796-7.

[34] David James□*The Rise and Fall of the Japanese Empire*□London 1951□□134.

[35] David James□*The Rise and Fall of the Japanese Empire*□London 1951□□138.

[36] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□

[37] Kurt Singer□*Mirror□Sword and Jewel□a study of Japanese characteristics*□London 1973□□39-40.

[38] Charles Drage□*Two-Gun Cohen*□London 1954□□131.

[39] Stuart Schram□*Mao Tse-tung*□London 1966□□25□36.

[40] Joseph Levenson□*Confucian China and its Modern Fate*□London 1958□.

[41] Charles Drage□*Two-Gun Cohen*□London 1954□□130-1.

[42] Hallett Abend□*Tortured China*□London 1931□□14-15.

[43] Stuart Schram□*Mao Tse-tung*□London 1966□□74.

[44] Charles Drage□*Two-Gun Cohen*□London 1954□□154-5.

[45] Stuart Schram□*Mao Tse-tung*□London 1966□□79.

[46] Stuart Schram□*Mao Tse-tung*□London 1966□□83 footnote.

[47] Stuart Schram□*Mao Tse-tung*□London 1966□□93.

[48] Hallett Abend□*Tortured China*□London 1931□□39.

[49] Conrad Brandt□*Stalin's Failure in China 1924-1927*□Harvard 1958□□178.

[50] Charles Drage□*Two-Gun Cohen*□London 1954□□167 ff□John Tolland□*The Rising Sun□the decline and fall of the Japanese Empire□1936-1945*□London 1971□□38□footnote.

[51] Hallett Abend□*Tortured China*□London 1931□□49-50□61□251.

[52] Hsiao Hsu-tung□*Mao Tse-tung and I were Beggars*□Syracuse 1959□.

[53] Benjamin Schwartz□*In Search of Wealth and Power□Yen Fu and the West*□Harvard 1964□.

[54] Chow Tse-tung□*The May Fourth Movement□Intellectual Revolution in Modem China*□Harvard 1960□.

[55] *Far Eastern Review*□December 1923.

[56] Reminiscences of Professor Pai Yu□quoted in Stuart Schram□*Mao Tse-tung*□London 1966□□73.

[57] Sun Yat-sen□lecture 3 February 1924□quoted by John Gittings□*The World and China 1922-1975*□London 1974□□43□Stalin□*Collected Works*□IX 225.

[58] John Gittings□*The World and China 1922-1975*□London 1974□□39-40.

[59] Cf. Mao's poem‘Snow’□written February 1936□Stuart Schram□*Mao Tse-tung*□London 1966□□107-8.

[60] Stuart Schram□*The Political Thought of Mao Tse-tung*□London 1964□□94-5.

[61] Chalmers A. Johnson□*Peasant Nationalism and Communist Power□the Emergence of Revolutionary China 1937-1945*□Stanford 1962□.

[62] Schram□*Mao Tse-tung*□127.

[63] Schram□*Mao Tse-tung*□153.

[64] Hallett Abend□*Tortured China*□London 1931□□147-8.

[65] Hallett Abend□*Tortured China*□London 1931□□80□67.

[66] □□□□□□□□□——□□□

[67] Hallett Abend□*Tortured China*□London 1931□□75□82.

[68] David James□*The Rise and Fall of the Japanese Empire*□London 1951□□139.

[69] John Tolland□*The Rising Sun□the decline and fall of the Japanese Empire□1936-1945*□London 1971□□7 footnote.

[70] Quoted in Foster Rhea Dulles□*The United States Since 1865*□Ann Arbor 1959□□281.

6. [illegible]

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[illegible]1920[illegible]7[illegible]23[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[8][illegible]H.L. [illegible]1920[illegible]1920[illegible]9[illegible]13[illegible]*Baltimore Evening Sun*[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]

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[illegible]1922[illegible]*The New Republic*[illegible]“[illegible]——[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

……经常上教堂的那些阶层，那些受到福音基督教影响的人。这些人构成了慈善社会利益的中坚力量，通过政治行动来改革社会的中坚力量、和平主义的中坚力量，以及民众教育的中坚力量。他们体现并表达了温和而善意地对待经济上处于劣势的那些阶层、对待其他民族的那种精神，尤其是当后者表现出支持共和政体的任何倾向的时候。中西部，亦即大草原地区，一直是积极的社会慈善活动和政治进步主义的核心，因为它是这个民族主要的家乡……相信教育会给他们自己的孩子带来更好的机会……它一直支持公平交易和所有人机会均等的诉求。……它在废除奴隶制上追随过林肯，在罗斯福抨击“坏”公司和财富积累的时候，它追随过罗斯福。……在“中间”这个词的任何意义上，以及在每一场运动中，它都是“中间的”。[17]

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在底特律城，有一件事情引起了我的注意——此事发生在去年11月——一家路边旅馆里举办了一场疯狂的派对，一场非常疯狂的派对，酒是底特律城一个主要赌徒捐赠的——如果你们想知道名字的话，我可以告诉你们，他叫丹尼·墨菲——在那场饮酒作乐的狂欢

中，密歇根州州长、底特律市警察局长、州警察局长、政客、花花公子、赌徒、罪犯、私酒贩子，全都在酒神巴克斯的治下勾肩搭背，称兄道弟。我想说的是，在那场饮酒狂欢的聚会上，有密歇根巡回法庭的4位法官，随后出现了几个赤身裸体的放荡舞女……你会发现，这个国家今天的伪善已经达到了何等程度。[27]

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上帝诅咒欧洲大陆。它纯粹属于古董商的利益。罗马用不了几年就会步蒂罗尔和巴比伦的后尘。黑人的条纹正悄悄地向北方蔓延，以污染北欧种族。意大利人已经有了黑人的灵魂。提高移民的门槛，只允许斯堪的纳维亚人、条顿人、盎格鲁—撒克逊人和凯尔特人进入。法国让我作呕。它愚蠢地摆出了一副要世界去拯救的姿态。……我终于相信白人的重负。我们远高于现代法国人，就像他们曾经高于黑人一样。即便在艺术领域！意大利没有艺术。……它们已经成为过去。你可能以开玩笑的方式把纽约说成是文化之都，但不出25年，它就会像现在的伦敦一样。文化追随金钱。……在接下来的几代人当中，我们会成为罗马人，就像现在的英国人一样。[38]

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[illegible]1931[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]” [65] [illegible]·[illegible]1920[illegible]“1920[illegible]” [66] [illegible]1931[illegible]*The Epic of America*[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]1920[illegible]“[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]” [67] [illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]” [68]

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她们精心养育自己的孩子——一个、两个，偶尔三四个——其细心的程度过去任何一代人大概闻所未闻。正是她们，开创了伟大的文化俱乐部运动……正是她们，花掉了巨额的美国收入，养活电影工业，购买或借阅长篇小说，支持时尚和美容行业的生意，把桥牌、旅行以及宗教和医学的狂热迷信维持在很高的活跃水平上，助长了每户两车的标准。[78]

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（美国）没有君主，没有宫廷，没有个人忠诚，没有贵族，没有教会，没有牧师，没有军队，没有外交机构，没有乡村绅士，没有宫殿，没有城堡，没有庄园，没有古老的乡村别墅，没有牧师住宅，没有茅草农舍，没有爬满常春藤的废墟，没有大教堂，没有修道院，没

有诺曼底人的教堂，没有伟大的大学，没有公学——没有牛津，没有伊顿，没有哈罗；没有文学，没有小说，没有博物馆，没有绘画，没有政治协会，没有运动会——既没有埃普索姆，也没有阿斯科特[84]。[85]

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1920[illegible]1929[illegible]34.4%[illegible]10.4%[illegible]10.3%[illegible]9.9%[illegible]5.0[illegible]4.0%[illegible]2.5%[illegible]2.2%[illegible]1.7%[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

1928[illegible]12[illegible]4[illegible]

纵览联邦的现状，美国历史上从未有哪一届国会带着比这更令人愉快的展望在此济济一堂。……我们的企业和工业部门所创造的巨额财富，我们的经济所积攒起来的巨额财富，在我们的人民当中有了最广泛的分配，并源源不断地流出去，服务于全世界的慈善和商业。生活的必需品已经远远超出了必要的限度，进入奢侈的领域。不断扩大的生产被国内和不断扩张的国外贸易日益增长的需求所消耗。国家可以带着心满意足的态度来看待今天，并以乐观的态度来预期未来。[90]

□□□·□□□1927□□□□□□□□□□□□□□*The Rise of American Civilization*□□□□□□□□“□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□……”[91]□□□□·□□□□□□“□□”[92]1929□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□“□□□”□□“□□□□”[93]□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□1929□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”[91]1929□□□□□□□□□□□□□□3□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□10□23□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

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[1] The figure 106□which includes many sub-groups□is used in Stephan Thernstrom and Ann Orlov□*Harvard Encyclopaedia of Ethnic Groups*□New York 1980□.

[2] Madison Grant□*The Passing of the Great Race*□New York 1916□□3-36.

[3] ‘The Klan's Fight for Americans’□*North American Review*□March 1926.

[4] William C. Widenor□*Henry Cabot Lodge and the Search for an American Foreign Policy*□University of California 1980□□Robert Murray□*The Harding Era*□University of Minnesota 1969□□64.

[5] John Morton Blum□*The Progressive Presidents□Roosevelt□Wilson□Roosevelt□Johnson*□New York 1980□□97.

[6] Foster Rhea Dulles□*The United States Since 1865*□Ann Arbor 1959□□295.

[7] A. Mitchell Palmer□'The Case Against the Reds'□*Forum*□February 1920.

[8] Quoted in Arthur Ekirch□*Ideologies and Utopias and the Impact of the New Deal on American Thought*□Chicago 1969□□13-14.

[9] *Baltimore Evening Sun*□27 September 1920.

[10] Horace Kellen□*Culture and Democracy in the United States*□New York 1924□.

[11] V.W. Brooks□'Towards a National Culture'and 'The Culture of Industrialism'□*Seven Arts*□April 1917.

[12] V.W. Brooks□'Trans-National America'□*Atlantic Monthly*□1916.

[13] Van Wyck Brooks□*An Autobiography*□New York 1965□□253-6.

[14] James Hoopes□*Van Wyck Brooks in Search of American Culture*□Amherst 1977□□130.

[15] William Jennings Bryan□and Mary Baird Bryan□□*Memoirs*□Philadelphia 1925□□448.

[16] William Jennings Bryan□and Mary Baird Bryan□□*Memoirs*□Philadelphia 1925□□479-84.

[17] *New Republic*□10 May 1922.

[18] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□”□□□□□□□□“□□”□——□□□

[19] Robert Sklar□ed.□□*The Plastic Age 1917-1930*□New York 1970□□14.

[20] Albert E. Sawyer□‘The Enforcement of National Prohibition’□*Annals*□September 1932.

[21] Alan Block□*East Side□West Side□Organized Crime in New York 1930-1950*□Cardiff 1980□.

[22] *The Illinois Crime Survey*□Chicago 1929□□909-19.

[23] Lloyd Wendt and Herman Cogan□*Big Bill of Chicago*□Indianapolis 1953□□271ff.

[24] Charles Fecher□*Mencken□a Study of his Thought*□New York 1978□□159.

[25] *Sidney Bulletin*□20 July 1922□for non-enforcement□see Charles Merz□*The Dry Decade*□New York 1931□□88□107□123-4□144□154.

[26] T.K. Derry□*A History of Modern Norway 1814-1972*□Oxford 1973□□301-4.

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7. [illegible]

1929[illegible]10[illegible]3[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]80[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]2000[illegible][1]

[illegible]·[illegible]5[illegible]

亲爱的，现在我得告诉你，最近我在财务上交上了出奇的好运。之前，哈里·麦高恩爵士颇为诚恳地问我，他是否可以在事先没有征得同意的情况下替我买些股票。我的答复是：我始终可以筹到两三千英镑。我的意思是，这是我投资（即直接买股票）的限度。他明显把这理解为我准备以保证金的形式从事投机购买的限额。因此，他的投资额度大约十倍于我通常的规模……于是，在几周时间里我们发了一

笔小财……觉得有什么东西在背后支持你我，这对我来说是一件令人快慰的事。[2]

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> 英国是第一个重新确立稳定而可靠的货币的欧洲国家，它利用这一优势为把整个欧洲置于名副其实的金融控制之下奠定了基础。……流通货币将会被分为两类。第一类货币是美元和英镑，建立在黄金的基础上，而第二类货币则是建立在英镑和美元的基础上——它们的部分黄金储备被英格兰银行和纽约联邦储备银行所持有，地方性的流通货币将会失去它们的独立性。[20]

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[illegible]1929[illegible]3[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]1929[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[51][illegible][52]

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[illegible]1932[illegible]1929[illegible]114[illegible]1933[illegible]3[illegible]54[illegible]1929[illegible]87[illegible]1933[illegible]14[illegible]77%[illegible][60][illegible]1929[illegible]3.2%[illegible]1933[illegible]24.9[illegible]1934[illegible]26.7%[61][illegible]3400[illegible]——[illegible]28%[62][illegible]2000[illegible]1932[illegible]30[illegible]20%[illegible][63][illegible]1933[illegible]1500[illegible]25[illegible][64][illegible]12[illegible]

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[illegible]·[illegible]86[illegible]28[illegible]6[illegible]20000[illegible]1600[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]6[illegible]1920[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]55[illegible]1[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]12[illegible]·[illegible][67][illegible]40[illegible]1[illegible]475[illegible][68][illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]1920[illegible]200[illegible]

> 钻进一个闷热拥挤的角落，得到片刻的休息和温暖，稍稍从绝望中缓过一口气来。……眼前的场景令人作呕，足以让人哑口无言，充满怜悯。（附近就是）曼哈顿摩天大楼参差不齐的剪影，在冬夜残忍的光亮中闪烁寒光。伍尔沃思大楼就在不到50码[69]开外的地方，再过去一点点就是华尔街银色的塔楼和尖顶，那些巨大的铁石堡垒里坐落着巨大的银行，……在寒冷的月光中，距离这个悲惨和痛苦的深渊

只有几个街区，闪耀着权力顶峰的光芒，在那里，全世界的很大一部分财富被深锁在巨大的金库里。[70]

[illegible]·[illegible]*The American Jitters*[illegible]1932[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][71]

[illegible]1920[illegible]1932[illegible]·[illegible]1929[illegible]10[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]*A New Deal*[illegible]·[illegible]*A Planned Society*[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]*The Modern Corporation and Private Property*[illegible]20[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

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[illegible]1929[illegible]10[illegible]1929[illegible][105][illegible]1940[illegible]“[illegible]”[106][illegible]9[illegible]

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[illegible]1926[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[112][illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]

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……浆洗过的衬衫开始像百叶窗一样卷起。处女般的脖子片刻之前还像天鹅的脖子一样洁白而优雅，顷刻间因为爱国激情的能量而变得如此肿胀，以至于钻石狗项圈和珍珠套索都被绷断了，像一截截的断绳飞迸开去。有人告诉我，如果我投票支持这个卑鄙的共产主义者，这个凶险的法西斯主义者，这个诡计多端、密谋策划的社会主义者及其阴谋家同伙，那么我就再也没有权利认为自己是个美国公民。[116]

[illegible]1936[illegible]27477000[illegible]16680000[illegible]1938[illegible]1940[illegible]1944[illegible]

[illegible]1930[illegible]1920[illegible]·[illegible]1929[illegible]1931[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]……[illegible]”[117][illegible]1932[illegible]J.P.[illegible]3[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[118][illegible]1928[illegible]4[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]*The Soviet Worker*[illegible]·[illegible]*Dawn in Russia*[illegible]·Z. [illegible]*Towards Soviet America*[illegible]·[illegible]*A New Economic Order*[illegible]·[illegible]*Socialist Planning*[illegible]·[illegible]*Russia Today*[illegible]*What Can We Learn From It*[illegible]1932[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]1933[illegible] [119]

[illegible]1930[illegible]6000[illegible]10[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[1] Norman Mursell[illegible]*Come Dawn*[illegible]*Come Dusk*[illegible]London 1981[illegible].

[2] Martin Gilbert[illegible]*Winston S. Churchill*[illegible]5 vols[illegible]to date[illegible]with companion volumes[illegible]London[illegible]1966-[illegible]V[illegible]Companion Volume[illegible]Parr 2[illegible]86-7.

[3] J.K. Galbraith[illegible]*The Great Crash 1929*[illegible]Boston 3rd ed.1972[illegible]83.

[4] J.K. Galbraith[illegible]*The Great Crash 1929*[illegible]Boston 3rd ed.1972[illegible]104-16.

[5] William Williams□'The Legend of Isolationism in the 1920s'□*Science and Society*□Winter 1954□.

[6] William Williams□*The Tragedy of American Diplomacy*□New York 1962□□Carl Parrini□*The Heir to Empire□US Economic Diplomacy 1916-1923*□Pittsburg 1969□.

[7] See Jude Wanninski's letter in the *Wall Street Journal*□16 June 1980.

[8] Murray N. Rothbard□*America's Great Depression*□Los Angeles 1972□□86.

[9] Federal Reserve Bank□*Annual Report 1923*□Washington DC 1924□□10.

[10] Seymour E. Harriss□*Twenty Years of Federal Reserve Policy*□Harvard 1933□□91.

[11] Murray N. Rothbard□*America's Great Depression*□Los Angeles 1972□□128-30.

[12] Harris Gaylord Warren□*Herbert Hoover and the Great Depression*□Oxford 1959□27.

[13] *Congressional investigation of Stock Exchange Practises□Hearings 1933*□2091ff□*Report 1934*□220-1. J.K. Galbraith□*The Great Crash 1929*□Boston 3rd ed.1972□□186-7.

[14] Murray N. Rothbard□*America's Great Depression*□Los Angeles 1972□□158ff.

[15] For Strong□see Lester V. Chandler□*Benjamin Strong□Central Banker*□Washington DC 1958□.

[16] Murray N. Rothbard□*America's Great Depression*□Los Angeles 1972□□133.

[17] Melchior Palyi□'The Meaning of the Gold Standard'□*Journal of Business*□July 1941.

[18] Murray N. Rothbard□*America's Great Depression*□Los Angeles 1972□□139.

[19] Quoted in Lionel Robbins□*The Great Depression*□New York 1934□□53. Lord Robbins repudiated this book in his *Autobiography of an Economist*□London 1971□□154-5□written just before the great Seventies recession brought Keynesianism down in ruins.

[20] Quoted in Lester V. Chandler□*Benjamin Strong□Central Banker*□Washington DC 1958□□379-80.

[21] Rostow□*World Economy*□Table Ⅱ-7□68.

[22] Murray N. Rothbard□*America's Great Depression*□Los Angeles 1972□□157-8□R.G. Hawtrey□*The Art of Central Banking*□London 1932□□300.

[23] J.K. Galbraith□*The Great Crash 1929*□Boston 3rd ed. 1972□□180.

[24] Foster Rhea Dulles□*The United States Since 1865*□Ann Arbor 1959□□290.

[25] Samuel Schmalhausen and V.F. Calverton□eds□□*Woman's Coming of Age□a Symposium*□New York 1931□□536-49.

[26] Selma Goldsmith *et al.*□'Size Distribution of Income Since the Mid-Thirties'□*Review of Economics and Statistics*□February 1954□J.K. Galbraith□*The Great Crash 1929*□Boston 3rd ed.1972□□181.

[27] Walter Bagehot□*Lombard Street*□London 1922 ed.□□151.

[28] For the collected sayings of 'experts'□see Edward Angly□*Oh Yeah*□□New York 1931□.

[29] J.K. Galbraith□*The Great Crash 1929*□Boston 3rd ed. 1972□□57ff.

[30] *Securities and Exchange Commission in the Matter of Richard Whitney□Edwin D. Morgan etc*□Washington DC 1938□.

[31] Walter Bagehot，*Lombard Street*（London 1922 ed.），150.

[32] J.K. Galbraith，*The Great Crash 1929*（Boston 3rd ed. 1972），140.

[33] J.K. Galbraith，*The Great Crash 1929*（Boston 3rd ed. 1972），147.

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[41] Herbert Hoover□*Memoirs*□3 vols□Stanford 1951-2□□Ⅱ 42-4.

[42] Herbert Hoover□*Memoirs*□3 vols□Stanford 1951-2□□Ⅱ 41-2.

[43] Martin Fasault and George Mazuzan□eds□□*The Hoover Presidency□a Reappraisal*□New York 1974□□8□Murray Benedict□*Farm Policies of the United States*□New York 1953□.

[44] Murray□*The Harding Era*□195.

[45] Ellis Hawley□'Herbert Hoover and American Corporatism 1929-33'in Martin Fasault and George Mazuzan□eds□□*The Hoover Presidency□a Reappraisal*□New York 1974□□8.

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[47] Joan Hoff Wilson，*American Business and Foreign Policy 1920-1933*（Lexington 1971），220；Donald R. McCoy's‘To the White House’in Martin Fasault and George Mazuzan（eds），*The Hoover Presidency：a Reappraisal*（New York 1974），55；for Wilson's anti-Semitism，David Cronon（ed.），*The Cabinet Diaries of Josephus Daniels 1913-1921*（Lincoln，Nebraska 1963），131，267，497；for FDR's，Walter Trohan，*Political Animals*（New York 1975），99.

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[55] H.Roy Harrod□*Life of John Maynard Keynes*□London 1951□□437-48.

[56] J.K. Galbraith□*The Great Crash 1929*□Boston 3rd ed. 1972□□142.

[57] Murray N. Rothbard□*America's Great Depression*□Los Angeles 1972□□233-4.

[58] Hoover□Republican Convention acceptance speech□11 August 1932□speech at Des Moines□4 October 1932.

[59] Murray N. Rothbard□*America's Great Depression*□Los Angeles 1972□□268.

[60] Murray N. Rothbard□*America's Great Depression*□Los Angeles 1972□□291.

[61] Rostow□*World Economy*□Table Ⅲ-42□220.

[62] *Fortune*□September 1932.

[63] William Manchester□*The Glory and the Dream□a Narrative History of America 1932-1972*□New York 1974□□40-1.

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[86] Frank Freidel 'The Interregnum Struggle Between Hoover and Roosevelt' in Fausold and Mazuzan op. cit.137.

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[92] James MacGregor Burns，*Roosevelt：the Lion and the Fox*（New York 1956），148-9.

[93] Press conferences of 24 March and 19 and 26 April 1933.

[94] James MacGregor Burns，*Roosevelt：the Lion and the Fox*（New York 1956），167，172；Elliot Roosevelt（ed.），*FDR：His Personal Letters*（4 vols，New York 1947-50），I 339-40（letter to Josephus Daniels 27 March 1933）；FDR's；Walter Trohan，*Political Animals*（New York 1975），64.

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[118] Stuart Chase□*The New Deal*□New York 1932□□252.

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[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][64][illegible]·[illegible]-[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]37[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

“[illegible]”[illegible][65]

1932[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][66][illegible]“[illegible]10[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][67]

1929[illegible]1934[illegible]H.G. [illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·E. [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]J.D. [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[68]

[illegible][69][illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[70][illegible]

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1924□□□1919□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□”□□[71]□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1925□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

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1925[illegible]1929[illegible]34[illegible]Gaue[illegible]Gauleiter[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]7[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1920[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible][73][illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][74] [illegible]“[illegible]”[75] [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

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[illegible]1923[illegible]1929[illegible]·[illegible]51[illegible]·[illegible]1926[illegible]50[illegible]20[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Primat der Aussenpolitik[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible] [76]

[illegible]1924[illegible]1929[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible] [77] [illegible]1920[illegible]·[illegible]1924[illegible]5[illegible]1927[illegible]1929[illegible]12%[illegible]12%[illegible] [78] [illegible]6%[illegible]1926[illegible]18.1%[illegible]8.8%[illegible]8.4%[illegible]1928[illegible]1929[illegible]300[illegible]13%[illegible]-[illegible]20%[illegible]1931[illegible]33.7%[illegible]1932[illegible]43.7%[illegible]600[illegible] [79]

[illegible]1928[illegible]14[illegible]12[illegible]2.8%[illegible]1929[illegible]12[illegible]1930[illegible]30[illegible]1932[illegible]80[illegible]1932[illegible]50[illegible] [80] [illegible]1930[illegible]——[illegible]25000[illegible]40[illegible]6[illegible]1933[illegible]3[illegible]1[illegible] [81]

[illegible]1929[illegible]·[illegible]1928[illegible]1930[illegible]·[illegible]48[illegible]107[illegible]77[illegible]

[illegible]1931[illegible]17[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][82]

[illegible][83][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1930[illegible]2[illegible]11[illegible]·[illegible]*Linkskurve*[illegible]*Kuhle Wampe*[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]15[illegible]”[84][illegible]1932[illegible]11[illegible][85][illegible]

[illegible]——1932[illegible]annus mirabilis[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1932[illegible]“[illegible]” [86] [illegible]——[illegible]1932[illegible]5[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]7[illegible]17[illegible]

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[illegible]1933[illegible]1[illegible]30[illegible]

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德意志帝国宪法第114～118条、第123～124条和第153条暂时无效。因此，对个人自由的限制，对自由表达观点的权利（包括出版、结社和集会的自由）的限制，对书信、电报和电话通信的监视，对住宅的搜查，以及对财产的没收和限制，都允许超越迄今为止法律所规定的界限。

□□□1945□□□□□□3□5□□□□□□□□□□□□□43.9%□□□□288□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□3□23□□4□□□□□□1937□1941□□1943□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□2□28□□

[illegible]——[illegible]26[illegible]81[illegible]441[illegible]94[illegible]2[illegible]28[illegible]

[illegible]5[illegible]10[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”6[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]7[illegible]5[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]——[illegible]” [93]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”——[illegible]3[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible] [94]

[illegible]1929[illegible]290[illegible]

29[illegible]·[illegible][95]

[illegible]5.2[illegible]1931[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible][96][illegible]·[illegible]

1933年3月22日星期三，第一家集中营将在达豪附近开张。它将容纳5000名囚犯。计划按照这样一个规模，我们拒绝被任何微不足道的反对所影响，因为我们确信，这将让所有尊重国家的人消除疑虑，并服务于他们的利益。

海因里希·希姆莱

慕尼黑市代理警察局长[97]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]1933[illegible]2[illegible]28[illegible]”[illegible]

> “关进集中营”这个术语将被公开宣布，“直至进一步的公告”。……在某些情况下，党卫军领导人和德国警察局长还会下令鞭打。……我们不反对为了增加威慑效果而传播关于这一刑罚的传闻。下列罪犯被认为是煽动者，将被绞死：任何发表煽动演说、举行集会、组建小集团、与其他人一起到处闲逛的人；任何为了给反对派的宣传提供暴行故事的目的而搜集关于集中营里或真或假的信息的人。[98]

[illegible][99][illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[100][illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]6[illegible]1924[illegible]

[illegible]1934[illegible]2[illegible]20[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][101]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][102][illegible]·[illegible]1924[illegible]1941[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[103][illegible]“[illegible]”[104][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1933[illegible]71[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][105]

[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1944[illegible]1945[illegible]·[illegible][106][illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]1930[illegible]1932[illegible]1935[illegible]·[illegible] [107]

[illegible]3[illegible]2[illegible]40[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible] [108]

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]10[illegible]12[illegible]600[illegible]

[illegible]10[illegible][111][illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]1938[illegible]2[illegible]4[illegible][112][illegible][113]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[114][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible][115][illegible]

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[illegible]90000[illegible][117][illegible][118][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1936[illegible]*Der Stürmer*[illegible]1938[illegible][119][illegible]1938[illegible]11[illegible]9[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][120][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[121][illegible]1933[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][122]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]” [123] [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]” [illegible] [124]

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[illegible]1933[illegible]2[illegible]8[illegible]1933[illegible]9[illegible]·[illegible] [126] [illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]1933[illegible]1938[illegible]3[illegible]1938[illegible]10[illegible]800[illegible]1933[illegible]1934[illegible]300[illegible]1936[illegible]1938[illegible]

[illegible]1860[illegible]1928[illegible]1930[illegible]3[illegible][127]

[illegible]1930[illegible][128][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][129]

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[illegible]1933[illegible]1[illegible]1933[illegible]100[illegible]350[illegible]

[illegible]1933[illegible]3[illegible]1933[illegible]10[illegible]1934[illegible]4[illegible]20[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]1934[illegible]2[illegible]21[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[130][illegible]1934[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]1934[illegible]6[illegible]30[illegible]7[illegible]2[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[131] [illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]1923[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]150[illegible][132]

[illegible]7[illegible]3[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]8[illegible]2[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]84.6%[illegible][133] [illegible]

[illegible]1930[illegible]

[illegible]200[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][134][illegible]1934[illegible]——[illegible][135]

1934[illegible]12[illegible]1[illegible]·[illegible]1956[illegible]1961[illegible][136]

[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]3[illegible]12[illegible]29[illegible]100[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]40000[illegible][137]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][138][illegible]1936[illegible]K.V. [illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][139]

[illegible]5000[illegible]1936[illegible]9[illegible]25[illegible]“[illegible]-[illegible]4[illegible]”[140][illegible][141][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1937[illegible]2[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[142][illegible]140[illegible]

[illegible]1936[illegible]1938[illegible]1937[illegible]3000[illegible]90%[illegible]1935[illegible][143][illegible]·[illegible]1927[illegible]1936[illegible]7[illegible]5[illegible]7[illegible]1937[illegible]6[illegible]11[illegible]30000[illegible]80%[illegible][144][illegible]24[illegible]150[illegible]100[illegible][145]

[illegible]·[illegible]1953[illegible]1956[illegible]·[illegible]1956[illegible]1964[illegible]·[illegible]1970[illegible]1960[illegible]·[illegible]1964[illegible]1982[illegible]

[illegible]30[illegible]1937[illegible]1939[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1961[illegible]“[illegible]4[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]J. [illegible]V. [illegible]”[illegible]1937[illegible]1939[illegible]400[illegible]44000[illegible][146]

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[illegible]1933[illegible]100[illegible]1942[illegible]1945[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][150]

[illegible]1941[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Arbeit Macht Frei[illegible]1938[illegible]4[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]16[illegible]60[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]40[illegible]50[illegible]1936[illegible]1939[illegible]450[illegible]100[illegible]1000[illegible][151][illegible]

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[illegible]·[illegible]-[illegible]*The Lives of a Bengal Lancer*[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]W.B.[illegible]T.S. [illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]-[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible][153]

[illegible]1930[illegible]600[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible][154]

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在一个强加的大一统政府里，他们从特定的意志行为来看待其余的承诺，这些意志行为需要满足民主社会很多的而且常常是互相冲突的条件……他们抱持这样一个观念：革命是最终的、包罗万象的意志行为，它将永远终结我们个人意志的行使。[163]

□□

从美国文化情境的任何角度来看，1930年代激进运动的重要性都不可能被高估。它可以说创造了我们如今所知道的那个有巨大规模和影响力的美国知识阶层。它确定了这个阶层的特征主要是左翼的，尽管他们的观点千变万化。[164]

[illegible]——[illegible]1970[illegible]

[illegible]1930[illegible]

[1] Dmitri Shostakovitch□*Memoirs*.

[2] Boris I. Nicolaevsky□*Power and the Soviet Elite□'The Letter of an Old Bolshevik' and Other Essays*□New York 1965□□3-65.

[3] Quoted in K.E. Voroshilov□*Stalin and the Armed Forces of the USSR*□Moscow 1951□□19.

[4] Albert Seaton□*Stalin as Warlord*□London 1976□□29ff.

[5] Stephen F. Cohen□*Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution*□London 1974□.

[6] E.H. Carr□*From Napoleon to Stalin and Other Essays*□London 1980□□156.

[7] Isaac Deutscher's three-volume life of Trotsky is *The Prophet Armed*□Oxford 1954□□*The Prophet Unarmed*□195

9□□*The Prophet Outcast*□1963□□but it is his *Stalin*□*a Political Biography*□1949□1966□1967□which gives his best-known presentation of the Stalin-Trotsky dichotomy. For an exposure of his work□see Leopold Labedz□‘Isaac Deutscher's “Stalin”□an Unpublished Critique’□*Encounter*□January 1979□65-82.

[8] W.H. Chamberlin□*The Russian Revolution 1917-1921*□2 vols□New York 1935□□Ⅱ 119.

[9] Ronald Hingley□*Joseph Stalin*□*Man and Legend*□London 1974□□162-3□Paul Avrich□*Kronstadt 1921*□Princeton 1970□□176-8□211.

[10] Leon Trotsky□*Their Morals and Ours*□New York 1942□□35.

[11] Kolakowski□op. cit.□Ⅲ 186□199.

[12] Leonard Schapiro□*The Communist Party of the Soviet Union*□2nd ed. London 1970□□353.

[13] Boris Bajanov□*Avec Staline dans le Kremlin*□Paris 1930□□74-7□91□145□156ff.

[14] Trotsky□*My Life*□London 1930□□433□claimed he was deliberately misinformed of the time of the funeral.

[15] Ian Grey□*Stalin*□*Man of History*□London 1979□□199-200.

[16] Stalin□*Collected Works*□VI 328.

[17] The circumstances of Frunze's death are described in Boris Pilnyak's novel□*Tale of the Unextinguished Moon*□and in Trotsky's *Stalin□an Appraisal of the Man and his Influence*□2 vols□tr. London 1969□□II 250-1.

[18] Ronald Hingley□*Joseph Stalin□Man and Legend*□London 1974□□168.

[19] Quoted in Deutscher□*Stalin*□311.

[20] E.H. Carr and R.W. Davies□*Foundations of a Planned Economy*□London 1974 ed.□□I 84-5.

[21] Carr□*Foundations*□II 65-6□Ronald Hingley□*Joseph Stalin□Man and Legend*□London 1974□□191□Deutscher□*Stalin*□314□B. Souvarine□*Stalin*□London□n.d.□□485.

[22] Stalin□*Collected Works*□X 191.

[23] Eugene Lyons□*Assignment in Utopia*□London 1937□□117□123□127.

[24] Abdurakhman Avtorkhanov□*Stalin and the Soviet Communist Party*□London 1959□□28-9.

[25] Ronald Hingley□*Joseph Stalin□Man and Legend*□London 1974□□197.

[26] Eugene Lyons□*Assignment in Utopia*□London 1937□□372.

[27] Stalin□*Collected Works*□Ⅻ 14.

[28] Stephen F. Cohen□*Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution*□London 1974□□372.

[29] Ronald Hingley□*Joseph Stalin□Man and Legend*□London 1974□□201□B. Souvarine□*Stalin*□London□n.d.□□577.

[30] Ronald Hingley□*Joseph Stalin□Man and Legend*□London 1974□□200.

[31] Schapiro□*Communist Party*□368.

[32] Kolakowski□op. cit.□Ⅲ 25ff.

[33] Stalin□*Collected Works*□Ⅷ 142□Carr□*Foundations*□I 28-9.

[34] For figures see Carr□*Foundations*□I 120-1.

[35] M.Fainsod□*Smolensk under Soviet Rule*□London 1958□□46□Stalin□*Collected Works*□Ⅺ□44-5□48.

[36] Tatiana Chernavin□*Escape from the Soviets*□tr. London 1933□□37.

[37] Robert C. Williams□‘The Quiet Trade□Russian Art and American Money’□*Wilson Quarterly*□Winter 1979.

[38] Stalin，*Collected Works*，XI 90.

[39] Carr，*Foundations*，I 201.

[40] M. Hindus，*Red Bread*（London 1931），335；Carr，*Foundations*，223.

[41] T.H. Rigby（ed.），*The Stalin Dictatorship：Khrushchev's ‘Secret Session’ Speech and Other Documents*（Sydney 1968）.

[42] Carr，*Foundations*，I 283.

[43] Deutscher，*Stalin*，320；Stalin，*Collected Works*，XII 170.

[44] Deutscher，*Stalin*，325；Dmitri Shostakovitch，*Memoirs*.

[45] Moshe Lewin，*Russian Peasants and Soviet Power*（tr. London 1968），514.

[46] Kolakowski，op. cit.，III 38.

[47] Winston Churchill，*The Second World War*（12 vols，London 1964），VIII 78.

[48] S. Swianiewicz，*Forced Labour and Economic Development：an Inquiry into the Experience of Soviet Industrialization*（London 1965），123；Moshe Lewin，*Russian Peasants and Soviet Power*（tr. London 1968），508.

[49] Kolakowski□op. cit.□Ⅲ 39.

[50] Robert Conquest□*The Great Terror□Stalin's Purge of the Thirties*□London 1969□□22.

[51] Deutscher□*Stalin*□325□Roy Medvedev□*Let History Judge□the Origins and Consequences of Stalinism*□tr. New York 1971□□90-1□figures from *Istoriia SSSR*□1964□□No. 5□p. 6.

[52] See the summary-article□‘Revising Stalin's Legacy’□*Wall Street Journal*□23 July 1980□M. Msksudov□‘Pertes subies par la population de l’URSS 1918-1958’□*Cahier du monde russe et sovietique*□March 1977.

[53] Kolakowski□op. cit.□Ⅲ 43.

[54] Stephen F. Cohen□*Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution*□London 1974□□364.

[55] Alexander Orlov□*The Secret History of Stalin's Crimes*□London 1954□□317-18□Alexander Barmine□*One Who Survived*□New York 1945□□256□264□Svetlana Alliluyeva□*Twenty Letters to a Friend*□tr.□London 1967□□351.

[56] Svetlana Allíluyeva□*Only One Year*□New York 1969□□143.

[57] Wolfgang Leonhard□*Kreml ohne Stalin*□Cologne 1959□□95□Boris I. Nicolaevsky□*Power and the Soviet Elite*□‘The

Letter of an Old Bolshevik’ and Other Essays□New York 1965□□93-4.

[58] Stalin□*Collected Works*□XⅢ 161-215.

[59] Borys Lewytzkyj□*Die rote Inquisition□die Geschichte der sowjetischen Sicherheitsdienste*□Frankfurt 1967□□76.

[60] Ronald Hingley□*Joseph Stalin□Man and Legend*□London 1974□□214.

[61] Albert Speer□*The Slave State*□London 1981□□303.

[62] Malcom Muggeridge□*Chronicles of Wasted Time*□London 1972□□I 234-5.

[63] Victor Serge□*Memoirs of a Revolutionary*□tr.□New York 1963□□250.

[64] Paul Hollander□*Political Pilgrims□Travels of Western Intellectuals to the Soviet Union□China and Cuba 1928-1978*□Oxford 1981□□chapter 4.

[65] Amabel Williams-Ellis□*The White Sea Canal*□London 1935□□introduction□Sidney and Beatrice Webb□*Soviet Communism□a New Civilization*□□London 1935□□Harold Laski□*Law and Justice in Soviet Russia*□London 1935□□Anna Louise Strong□*This Soviet World*□New York 1936□□G.B. Shaw□*The Rationalization of Russia*□London 1931□□Solzhenitsyn's accoun

t of the Canal is in *The Gulag Archipelago*New York 1975Ⅱ 80-102.

[66] Julian Huxley*A Scientist Among the Soviets*London 193267Eugene Lyons*Assignment in Utopia*London 1937430G.B. Shaw*The Rationalization of Russia*London 193128.

[67] Hesketh Pearson*GBSa Full-Length Portrait*New York 1942329-31.

[68] Wells*Autobiography*799-807for other refs. see Paul Hollander*Political PilgrimsTravels of Western Intellectuals to the Soviet UnionChina and Cuba 1928-1978*Oxford 1981167-73.

[69] Amabel Williams-Ellis*The White Sea Canal*London 1935introduction.

[70] Malcom Muggeridge*Chronicles of Wasted Time*London 1972254.

[71] Edward N. Peterson*The Limits of Hitler's Power*Princeton 1969154.

[72] George L.Mosse*The Crisis of German Ideology*London 1966294ff.

[73] Joseph Bendersky□'The Expendable *Kronjurist*□Carl Schmitt and National Socialism 1933-6'□*Journal of Contemporary History*□14□1979□□309-28.

[74] George L.Mosse□*The Crisis of German Ideology*□London 1966□□280.

[75] Hajo Holborn□*A History of Modern Germany 1840-1945*□London 1969□□658.

[76] Fritz Stern□'Adenauer in Weimar□the Man and the System'in *The Failure of Illiberalism*□178-87□Paul Weymar□*Konrad Adenauer*□Munich 1955□□129-43□the quotation is from Adenauer's letter to M. Tirard□chairman of the Allied Rhineland Committee in 1923□in the Stresemann Papers□see Henry Turner□*Stresemann and the Politics of the Weimar Republic*□Princeton 1963□.

[77] For instance his secret report to the cabinet□31 March 1931□cited in Corelli Barnett□*The Collapse of British Power*□London 1972□□340.

[78] Michael Balfour□*West Germany*□London 1968□□85-6.

[79] Rostow□*World Economy*□Table Ⅲ-42□Hajo Holborn□*A History of Modern Germany 1840-1945*□London 1969□□639-40.

[80] Hajo Holborn□*A History of Modern Germany 1840-1945*□London 1969□□732.

[81] Walter Laqueur□*Weimar□a Cultural History□1918-1933*□London 1974□□257.

[82] Hajo Holborn□*A History of Modern Germany 1840-1945*□London 1969□□687.

[83] Karl Dietrich Bracher□*The German Dictatorship□the Origins□Structure and Effects of National Socialism*□tr.□London 1970□□6.

[84] Chrisopher Isherwood□*The Berlin Stories*□New York 1945 ed.□□86.

[85] Joachim Fest□*Hitler*□tr. London 1977□□517.

[86] Francis Carsten□*Reichswehr und Politik 1918-1933*□Cologne 1964□□377.

[87] Joachim Fest□*Hitler*□tr. London 1977□□545.

[88] Joachim Fest□*Hitler*□tr. London 1977□□507.

[89] Joachim Fest□*Hitler*□tr. London 1977□□546.

[90] Thomas Mann□*Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen*□Berlin 1918□.

[91] Quoted in E.K. Bramstedt□*Dictatorship and Political Police*□Oxford 1945□□98.

[92] See Arnold Brecht□*Prelude to Silence□the End of the German Republic*□New York 1944□.

[93] Quoted by Joachim Fest□*Hitler*□tr. London 1977□□618.

[94] Roger Manvell and Heinrich Fraenkel□*Goering*□New York 1962□296.

[95] Manvel and Fraenkel□*Heinrich Himmler*□London 1965□□10-15□31-2.

[96] Manvel and Fraenkel□*Heinrich Himmler*□London 1965□□34.

[97] *Neueste Nachrichten*□Munich□□21 March 1933.

[98] Quoted in Manvell and Fraenkel□*Himmler*□35-6.

[99] Quoted in Manvell and Fraenkel□*Himmler*□41.

[100] Quoted in Manvell and Fraenkel□*Himmler*□38-9.

[101] Frederich V.Grunfeld□*Prophets Without Honour□a Background to Freud□Kafka□Einstein and their World*□New York 1979□□126-9.

[102] Edward N. Peterson□*The Limits of Hitler's Power*□Princeton 1969□□14□Hans Buchheim□*ss und Polizei im NS Staat*□Duisberg 1964□.

[103] Hans Frank□*Im Angesicht des Galgens*□Munich 1953□.

[104] *Hitler's Secret Conversations*□New York 1953□□420.

[105] Edward N. Peterson□*The Limits of Hitler's Power*□Princeton 1969□□70-1.

[106] *Hitler's Secret Conversations*□306□Edward N. Peterson□*The Limits of Hitler's Power*□Princeton 1969□□72.

[107] Edward N. Peterson□*The Limits of Hitler's Power*□Princeton 1969□□133-42.

[108] Hans Frank□*Im Angesicht des Galgens*□Munich 1953□□167□Lutz Graf Schwerin von Krosigk□*Es geschah in Deutschland*□Tübingen 1951□.

[109] Paul Seabury□*The Wilhelmstrasse□a Study of German Diplomacy under the Nazi Regime*□Berkeley 1954□.

[110] Herbert Jacob□*German Administration Since Bismarck*□New Haven 1963□□113□Edward N. Peterson□*The Limits of Hitler's Power*□Princeton 1969□□37.

[111] Helmut Heiber□*Adolf Hitler*□Berlin 1960□□92ff.□Alan Bullock□*Hitler□a Study in Tyranny*□London 1964□□386□Joseph Nyomarkay□*Charisma and Factionalism in the Nazi Party*□Minneapolis 1967□.

[112] Joachim Fest□*Hitler*□tr. London 1977□□807.

[113] Otto Dietrich□*Zwölf Jahre mit Hitler*□Munich 1955□□153.

[114] Thomas Hobbes□*Leviathan*□Part 1□chapter XI.

[115] Edward N. Peterson□*The Limits of Hitler's Power*□Princeton 1969□□75-6.

[116] David Schoenbaum□*Hitler's Social Revolution*□New York 1966□□159-86□200-1□285.

[117] Heinrich Uhlig□*Die Warenbäuser im Dritten Reich*□Cologne 1956□.

[118] Friedrich Facius□*Wirtschaft und Staat□Schriften des Bundesarchiv□*□Koblenz 1959□147.

[119] Raul Hilberg□*The Destruction of the European Jews*□Chicago 1961□□98.

[120] This is the view of E.K. Bramsted□*Goebbels and National Socialist Propaganda*□Lansing 1965□□Helmut Heibe

r□*Josef Goebbels*□Berlin 1962□argues that Goebbels was not anti-Semitic.

[121] Alan Bullock□*Hitler□a Study in Tyranny*□London 1964□□121.

[122] Arthur Schweitzer□*Big Business in the Third Reich*□London 1964□□643□note 25.

[123] Hermann Rauschning□*Hitler's Revolution of Destruction*□London 1939□.

[124] Quoted Hajo Holborn□*A History of Modern Germany 1840-1945*□London 1969□□753.

[125] Joseph Borking□*The Crime and Punishment of I.G. Farben*□London 1979□□56-60.

[126] For Todt's ability see Alan Milward□*The German Economy at War*□London 1965□.

[127] Albert Speer□*The Slave State*□London 1981□□4ff.

[128] David Schoenbaum□*Die braune Revolution*□Cologne 1968□□150.

[129] Joachim Fest□*Hitler*□tr. London 1977□□559.

[130] David Carlton□*Anthony Eden*□London 1981□□46.

[131] Hans Gisevius□*Adolf Hitler*□Munich 1963□□173.

[132] Hajo Holborn□*A History of Modern Germany 1840-1945*□London 1969□□745-7□Manvell and Fraenkel□*Himmler*□42-6.

[133] Joachim Fest□*Hitler*□tr. London 1977□□705.

[134] Boris I. Nicolaevsky□*Power and the Soviet Elite*□*‘The Letter of an Old Bolshevik’ and Other Essays*□New York 1965□□28-30.

[135] For the influence of the Roehm purge on Stalin□see George Kennan□*Russia and the West Under Lenin and Stalin*□New York 1960□□285.

[136] Robert Conquest□*The Great Terror*□*Stalin's Purge of the Thirties*□London 1969□□44.

[137] Roy Medvedev□*Let History Judge*□*the Origins and Consequences of Stalinism*□tr. New York 1971□□157ff.□Ronald Hingley□*Joseph Stalin*□*Man and Legend*□London 1974□□236ff.□Robert Conquest□*The Great Terror*□*Stalin's Purge of the Thirties*□London 1969□□47ff.

[138] Alexander Orlov□*The Secret History of Stalin's Crimes*□London 1954□□17-18□129.

[139] Alexander Orlov□*The Secret History of Stalin's Crimes*□London 1954□□350.

[140] Rigby□*The Stalin Dictatorship*□39-40.

[141] W.G. Krivitsky□*I Was Stalin's* Agent□London 1940□□166.

[142] W.G. Krivitsky□*I Was Stalin's* Agent□London 1940□□228.

[143] Paul Blackstock□*The Secret Road to World War Two□Soviet versus Western Intelligence 1921-1939*□Chicago 1969□□Ronald Hingley□*Joseph Stalin□Man and Legend*□London 1974□□292ff.

[144] John Erickson□*The Soviet High Command□a Military and Political History□1918-1941*□London 1962□□374□Robert Conquest□*The Great Terror□Stalin's Purge of the Thirties*□London 1969□□224□Ronald Hingley□*Joseph Stalin□Man and Legend*□London 1974□□258-9.

[145] Schapiro□*Communist Party*□440.

[146] Roy Medvedev□*Let History Judge□the Origins and Consequences of Stalinism*□tr. New York 1971□□294-6.

[147] Roy Medvedev□*Let History Judge□the Origins and Consequences of Stalinism*□tr. New York 1971□□219-23.

[148] Fitzroy Maclean□*Eastern Approaches*□London 1966 ed.□119-20.

[149] For details of the use of torture□see Roy Medvedev□*Let History Judge□the Origins and Consequences of Stalinism*□tr. New York 1971□□259-70□286.

[150] Simon Wolin and Robert M. Slusser□*The Soviet Secret Police*□New York 1957□□194□Antoni Ekart□*Vanished Without Trace*□London 1954□□244.

[151] Roy Medvedev□*Let History Judge□the Origins and Consequences of Stalinism*□tr. New York 1971□□239□Robert Conquest□*The Great Terror□Stalin's Purge of the Thirties*□London 1969□□525-35□see also Iosif Dyadkin's calculations□*Wall Street Journal*□23 July 1980□which are similar.

[152] Walter Laqueur□*Weimar□a Cultural History□1918-1933*□London 1974□□266-7.

[153] For right-wing intellectuals□see Richard Griffiths□*Fellow-Travellers of the Right□British Enthusiasts for Nazi Germany 1933-1938*□London 1980□□and Alastair Hamilton□*The Appeal of Fascism□a Study of Intellectuals and Fascism 1919-1945*□London 1971□□see also Malcolm Muggeridge□*The Thirties*□London 1940□□281-2.

[154] For Stalin's anti-Semitism□see Roy Medvedev□*Let History Judge□the Origins and Consequences of Stalinism*□tr. New York 1971□□493ff.□he gives a list of books banned by S

talin on p. 524□for Gorky□see Ronald Hingley□*Joseph Stalin□Man and Legend*□London 1974□□241-2.

[155] *The Letters of Lincoln Steffens*□ed. E. Winter and G. Hicks□2 vols□New York 1938□□II 1001.

[156] Shaw□*The Rationalization of Russia*□Bloomington□Ind.□1964 ed.□□112.

[157] Quoted by Jean Lacourure□*André Malraux*□New York 1975□□230.

[158] Quoted by Sidney Hook in *Encounter*□March 1978.

[159] Stephen F. Cohen□*Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution*□London 1974□□376.

[160] Muggeridge□*Chronicles of Wasted Time*□254-5.

[161] Walter Duranty□*The Kremlin and the People*□New York 1941□□65.

[162] Quoted in Paul Hollander□*Political Pilgrims□Travels of Western Intellectuals to the Soviet Union□China and Cuba 1928-1978*□Oxford 1981□□164.

[163] Trilling□in *The Last Decade*□‘Art□Will and Necessity’.

[164] Trilling□in *The Last Decade*□‘A Novel of the Thirties’.

9. [illegible]

[illegible]1920[illegible]1930[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]1929[illegible]1950[illegible]1929[illegible]1930[illegible]132069[illegible]16[illegible][1][illegible]·[illegible][2][illegible]1930[illegible]17[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]50[illegible]“[illegible]”[3][illegible]

[illegible]1930[illegible]1930[illegible]-[illegible]15%[illegible]1931[illegible]9[illegible]10[illegible]10%[illegible]8[illegible][4][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[5] [illegible]1933[illegible]3[illegible]27[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1932[illegible]2[illegible]29[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][6] [illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[7]

[illegible][8] [illegible]——[illegible]1930[illegible]1920[illegible]——[illegible]1935[illegible]1933[illegible]6[illegible]7[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]7[illegible]3[illegible]1920[illegible]1930[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]50%[illegible]1934[illegible]21.12[illegible]9.37[illegible][9][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

1931[illegible]1932[illegible]1933[illegible]12[illegible]1931[illegible]1934[illegible][10][illegible]3[illegible]1860[illegible]1902[illegible]3[illegible]1934[illegible]12[illegible]19[illegible]

[illegible]1935[illegible]3[illegible]16[illegible]4[illegible]16[illegible]

[illegible]

在日本人的心目中，始终不存在个人与国家相对的概念。……在西式观念之下存在一种个人主义的生活观，把个人视为绝对的、独立的实体……是一切价值的标准，其本身是所有价值中最高的。［可是］尽管人类有他们独立的存在和生活，但在深层意义上，他们依赖于整体，生活在彼此之间的合作关系中。他们生于国家，被国家养活，被国家的历史和传统所养育。个人只能作为那个被称作国家的有限而巨大的生命链中的一环而存在；正是通过他们的链环，祖先的遗产被传承给后世子孙。……当他们作为国家的一部分而服务于国家的时候，个人便分享了最高、最大的价值。[11]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1931[illegible]1945[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]1930[illegible]

[illegible]1935[illegible]1936[illegible]1935[illegible]8[illegible]12[illegible]“[illegible]”[12][illegible]1936[illegible]2[illegible]20[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible][13][illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]*Naughty Marietta*[illegible][14]

[illegible]1500[illegible]4[illegible]13[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][15]

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中日冲突给了我们中国共产党人一个极好的扩张机会。我们的政策是：把我们百分之七十的努力用于这一目的，百分之二十用于对付

政府，百分之十打日本人。这一政策将分三个阶段执行。第一阶段，我们将和国民党合作，以确保我们的生存和发展。第二阶段，我们将实现在力量上和国民党并驾齐驱。第三阶段，深入渗透中国的各个地区，建立对国民党发起反攻的根据地。[25]

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西班牙姐妹，西班牙圣徒——你们是被拣选的！

11位主教，1.6万名教士惨遭杀戮——没有一个人叛教。

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[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible][94][illegible]W.H. [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]*New English Weekly*[illegible]

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次日早晨，安德烈·尚松（法国代表团团长）宣布，他和《知识分子的背叛》（*La trahison des clercs*）一书的作者朱利安·班达必须立即离开马德里。因为，如果他们当中有一个人被杀的话，法国除了向佛朗哥宣战之外也就别无选择了，而这一行动肯定会导致世界大战。尚松不想为这样一场灾难承担责任。[101]

[illegible]

……负责这挺机关枪的枪手坚持认为，我应该朝摩尔人的阵线发射少数几颗子弹。我这样做了，很有把握地祈祷我没有任何机会射中一个阿拉伯人。突然，前线在我看来就像双方之间一种爱的关系，被困在他们相对的战壕里……而且，对于一个来访者来说，干扰他们死一般的性高潮似乎是一种轻浮。[102]

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迄今为止，我们成功地让敌人对德国的真正目标毫不知情，正如1932年之前，我们的国内敌人看不出我们要去哪儿，也不知道我们的合法性誓言只是一个花招。我们希望合法地掌握权力，但我们并不想合法地使用权力。……他们原本可以压制我们。可以在1925年逮捕我们一两个人，并且一直那样做，那我们就完了。不，他们让我们通过了危险地带。在外交政策上恰好也是如此。……1933年，一位法国总理原本应该说（如果我是法国总理的话，我会那样说）：“新任德国总理就是写过《我的奋斗》的那个人，这本书说了如此这般的话。不能容忍这个人在我们身边。要么他消失，要们我们进军！”但他们没有这么干。他们丢下我们不管，让我们溜过了危险地带，我们能够绕过所有暗礁向前航行。当我们准备完毕、很好地武装起来并比他们做得更好时，然后，他们开始了战争！[1]

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[illegible]——[illegible]1950[illegible]1980[illegible]——[illegible]275[illegible]153[illegible]“[illegible]”——[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible][31] [illegible][32] [illegible]·[illegible][33] [illegible]1980[illegible]3[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][34] [illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[35] [illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

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[illegible]1938[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]1933[illegible]1934[illegible]1935[illegible]1[illegible]13[illegible]3[illegible]7[illegible]11[illegible]6[illegible]18[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]35%[illegible][37][illegible]

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[illegible]1936[illegible]1937[illegible]1936[illegible]11[illegible]1[illegible]-[illegible]1937[illegible]800[illegible]48[illegible]5[illegible]600[illegible]1937[illegible]7[illegible][40]

1937[illegible]7[illegible]5[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible][41][illegible]1938[illegible]1[illegible]26[illegible]9[illegible]——1937[illegible]1938[illegible]200[illegible]16[illegible]44[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]——[illegible]”[42][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][43][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]25[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]4[illegible][44]

4[illegible]21[illegible]5[illegible]3[illegible]21[illegible][45][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“Yes”[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]1938[illegible]7[illegible]“[illegible]”[46][illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]-[illegible]“[illegible]”[47]8[illegible]15[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]8[illegible]27[illegible][48][illegible]1934[illegible]

[illegible]1[illegible]

[illegible]8[illegible]30[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]1000[illegible]”[illegible]9[illegible]26[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]” [49] [illegible]

[illegible]1938[illegible]1939[illegible]“Yes”[illegible]1939[illegible]1938[illegible]9[illegible]29[illegible]30[illegible]4[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible] [50] [illegible]80[illegible]25[illegible]

[illegible][51][illegible]1938[illegible]10[illegible]5[illegible]12[illegible]30[illegible][52]

[illegible]40[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]80[illegible][53][illegible]1919[illegible]1938[illegible]

[illegible]1938[illegible]99%[illegible]99.75%[illegible][54][illegible]1938[illegible]9[illegible]27[illegible]200[illegible][55][illegible]

[illegible]1939[illegible]1939[illegible]9[illegible]1[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][56]

[illegible]*News Chronicle*[illegible]*Daily Telegraph*[illegible]*Daily Herald*[illegible]·[illegible][57][illegible]11[illegible]1938[illegible]1939[illegible]1939[illegible]3[illegible]15[illegible]6[illegible]

[illegible]3[illegible]28[illegible]1934[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]3[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][58][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”——[illegible][59][illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]1940[illegible][60][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]7[illegible]——[illegible]1970[illegible][61]

[illegible]——[illegible]1939[illegible]1938[illegible]8[illegible]1[illegible][62]

[illegible]1914[illegible]1918[illegible]1860[illegible]1870[illegible][63][illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[64][illegible]4[illegible]28[illegible]——[illegible]1918[illegible]1920[illegible]1925[illegible]1[illegible]19[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible]1935[illegible]5[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]3[illegible]5[illegible]3[illegible]8[illegible][65]

[illegible]5[illegible]22[illegible]4[illegible]7[illegible]7[illegible]8[illegible]20[illegible]“[illegible]J.V. [illegible]”[illegible]3[illegible]24[illegible]8[illegible]22[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]

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[illegible]1945[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible] [68] [illegible]9[illegible]7[illegible]1939[illegible]9[illegible]28[illegible]1939[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]” [69] [illegible]1939[illegible]11[illegible]30[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]” [70] [illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]1939[illegible]9[illegible]80%[illegible]65%[illegible]70%[illegible]50%[illegible]25%[illegible][71][illegible]100[illegible]90[illegible]10[illegible][72]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]-[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][73]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[74][illegible]·[illegible]*Sword of Honour*[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]9[illegible]1[illegible]

[illegible][75][illegible]1939[illegible]10[illegible]3[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1939[illegible]11[illegible]23[illegible]“[illegible]”10[illegible]17[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][76][illegible]

[illegible]OKW[illegible]OKH[illegible][77][illegible]1870[illegible]56[illegible]1921[illegible][78][illegible]1939[illegible]5[illegible]6[illegible]9[illegible]8[illegible]9[illegible]22[illegible]11[illegible]10[illegible]1[illegible][79]

[illegible]11[illegible]12[illegible]29[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]1940[illegible]3[illegible]6[illegible]·[illegible][80][illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]*L’étrange défaite*[illegible]

> 跟旧的帝国军队比起来，纳粹政权的部队有更加民主的外表。官兵之间的鸿沟如今似乎不是那么不可逾越。……德国的胜利本质上是智力的胜利——正是这一点使得它特别重大。仿佛两支军队各自属于不同的历史时期。我们习惯于按照长矛对步枪的方式来解释战争，殖民扩张的漫长岁月让我们熟悉了这样的战争。但这一次，是我们扮演了野蛮人的角色！[81]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][82][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][83]

[illegible]5[illegible]10[illegible]6[illegible]6[illegible]22[illegible]——[illegible]2700[illegible]135000[illegible]——[illegible]6[illegible]10[illegible]6[illegible]24[illegible]3[illegible]3[illegible]12[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible][84][illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]1914[illegible]1918[illegible]1920[illegible]1936[illegible]1935[illegible]*Le Petit Journal*[illegible]·[illegible][85]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[86][illegible]1940[illegible]11[illegible]85[illegible]“[illegible]”[87][illegible]1934[illegible]·[illegible]8[illegible]5[illegible]

[illegible]35000[illegible]1933[illegible]

[illegible]1940[illegible]7[illegible]3[illegible]40%[illegible]150[illegible][88]

[illegible]20[illegible]1940[illegible]6[illegible]13[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[89][illegible]1940[illegible]10[illegible]23[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][90]

[illegible]5[illegible]21[illegible]“[illegible]”[91][illegible]5[illegible]6[illegible]2[illegible]A[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[92][illegible]6[illegible]30[illegible]“[illegible]

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□□□□1940□□□1930□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□-□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1930□□□50%□□□ [95] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1930□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□300□□□□□□□□□□□□29%□□□□12□□□1936□1937□□□□40□□□□□□ [96] □□□□□1926□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1920□□ [97] □□□□□□□□□□□□□1930□□19.2□□□□1936□□24.8□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1930□1938□□□18%□□□□□□□□□1930□□2.1□□□□1935□□3.5□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1930□□23.7□□□□□1937□□50.8□□ [98] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

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[illegible]1940[illegible]5[illegible]26[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]” [102] [illegible][103]

[illegible]7[illegible]4[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]10[illegible]9[illegible]*Daily Mirror*[illegible]·[illegible]

> 请求政府清除那些近年来带领我们误入歧途的人确实是个好主意，但应该在何处止步呢？他们无处不在——不仅政界有，而且在现役长官和民事长官当中也有。在我们发现自己置身于其中的这种危险状态下，把所有这些人全都清理出去是不可能的事。无论如何，如果你依靠最近几年来一直正确的那些人，你所信赖的人就只有很少的一小撮。不，他不打算管理一个报仇雪恨的政府。[104]

[illegible]1920[illegible]

[illegible]1930[illegible]1945[illegible]

[illegible]1940[illegible]1940[illegible]7[illegible]8[illegible]9[illegible]11[illegible]11[illegible]1941[illegible]10[illegible]7[illegible]8[illegible]

当我环顾左右，看看我们如何能打赢这场战争时，我认识到，只有一条路有把握。我们没有可以打败德国军事力量的大陆军。封锁被打破了，希特勒有亚洲，大概还有非洲可以利用。假如他在这里被击退，或者不想入侵，他就会向东反弹，我们没有任何东西能制止他。但有一样东西会把他带回来，并把他击倒，那就是利用重型轰炸机，从我们国家出发，对纳粹的祖国来一次绝对毁灭性的、消灭一切的进攻。[105]

[illegible][106][illegible]1940[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]10[illegible]30[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]1939[illegible]7[illegible]5[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1938[illegible]100[illegible]1940[illegible]29%[illegible]77%[illegible]1940[illegible]6[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[107][illegible]1940[illegible]1200[illegible][108]

1941[illegible]3[illegible]11[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1942[illegible]2[illegible]23[illegible]·[illegible][109][illegible]

□□□□□□□□□□□□1941□□
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[1] H.A.Jacobsen□*Der Zweite Weltkrieg□Grundzüge der Politik und Strategie in Dokumenten*□Frankfurt 1965□□180-1□quoted in Andreas Hillgruber□*Germany and the Two World Wars*□tr.□Harvard 1981□□56-7.

[2] Notes taken by Lt-General Liebmann□quoted in Andreas Hillgruber□*Germany and the Two World Wars*□tr.□Harvard 1981□□57.

[3] Rudolph Binion□*Hitler among the Germans*□New York 1976□□61-3□78-82.

[4] *Hitlers Zweites Buch□Ein Dokument aus dem Jahre 1928*□Stuttgart 1961□□tr. as *Hitler's Secret Book*□New York 1962□.

[5] Quoted in Joachim Fest□*Hitler*□tr. London 1977□□793.

[6] *Hitlers Zweites Buch*□130.

[7] Andreas Hillgruber□*Germany and the Two World Wars*□tr.□Harvard 1981□□50.

[8] Joachim Fest□*Hitler*□tr. London 1977□□796-7.

[9] Herbert Agar□‘Culture v. Colonialism in America’□*Southern Review*□1□July 1935□□1-19.

[10] George Kennan□*Memoirs□1925-1950*□Boston 1967□□53.

[11] C.A. MacDonald□*The United States□Britain and Appeasement 1936-1939*□London 1981□.

[12] Kennan□*Memoirs 1925-1950*□84.

[13] Kennan□*Memoirs 1925-1950*□86□Daniel Yergin□*Shattered Peace□the Origins of the Cold War and the National Security State*□Boston 1977□□34-5.

[14] Joachim Fest□*Hitler*□tr. London 1977□□869.

[15] Gilbert□*Churchill*□V 459-62.

[16] Quoted in Montgomery Hyde□*Carson*□London 1953□□387.

[17] Roland Hunt and John Harrison□*The District Officer in India 1930-1947*□London 1980□.

[18] B.R. Tomlinson□‘Foreign private investment in India 1920-50’*Modern Asian Studies*□XII4□1978□.

[19] Gilbert□*Churchill*□399ff.□480-1.

[20] Andrew Boyle□*The Climate of Treason*□London 1979□□with corrections in Noel Annan's review□*The Times Literary Supplement*□7 December 1979□83-4.

[21] Stuart Macintyre□*A Proletarian Science*□*Marxism in Britain 1917-1933*□Cambridge 1980□.

[22] Keith Middlemass and John Barnes□*Baldwin*□*a Biography*□London 1969□□745.

[23] Quoted in John Gross□*The Rise and Fall of the Man of Letters*□London 1969□□283.

[24] Gisela Lebzelter□*Political Anti-Semitism in England 1918-1939*□New York 1978□.

[25] J.R.M. Butler□*Lord Lothian*□London 1960□□206.

[26] Viscount Templewood□*Nine Troubled Years*□London 1954□□133.

[27] *Daily Telegraph*□28 January 1935.

[28] Martin Gilbert□*The Roots of Appeasement*□London 1966□□354-5□Corelli Barnett□*The Collapse of British Power*□London 1972□□389ff.

[29] Nicolson□*Diaries*□23 March 1936.

[30] Gilbert□*Churchill*□V 456.

[31] V.K. Krishna Menon□ed.□□*Young Oxford and War*□London 1934□.

[32] Corelli Barnett□*The Collapse of British Power*□London 1972□□423-4.

[33] Christopher Thorne□'Viscount Cecil□the Government and the Far Eastern Crisis of 1931'□*Cambridge Historical Journal*□XIV□1971□□805-26.

[34] See Donald S. Birn□*The League of Nations Union 1918-1945*□Oxford 1981□.

[35] Letter to the *Manchester Guardian*□26 February 1932.

[36] Michael Pugh□'Pacifism and Politics in Britain 1931-1935'□*Cambridge Historical Journal*□XXIII□1980□□641-56.

[37] For an explanation□not justification□of the concession□see Paul Haggle□*Britannia at Bay*□Oxford 1981□.

[38] Anthony Eden□speech□30 January 1941.

[39] Paul Schmidt□*Hitler's Interpreter*□tr.London 1951□□320.

[40] Corelli Barnett□*The Collapse of British Power*□London 1972□□409-10.

[41] The conference is described in Friedrich Hossbach，*Zwischen Wehrmacht und Hitler 1934-1938*（Hanover 1949），Joachim Fest，*Hitler*（tr. London 1977），800.

[42] Joachim Fest，*Hitler*（tr. London 1977），809-10.

[43] See Stefan Zweig，*The World of Yesterday*（New York 1943）.

[44] Jones，*Life and Work of Freud*，636ff.

[45] Corelli Barnett，*The Collapse of British Power*（London 1972），474-5.

[46] Robert J. O’Neill，*The German Army and the Nazi Party 1933-1939*（London 1966），152-9.

[47] Peter Hoffman，*Widerstand，Staatsstreich，Attentat：Der Kampf der Opposition gegen Hitler*（Munich 1969），83；Joachim Fest，*Hitler*（tr. London 1977），829ff.；and 1174-5 notes 20-3 for sources.

[48] Robert J. O’Neill，*The German Army and the Nazi Party 1933-1939*（London 1966），163-5.

[49] Joachim Fest，*Hitler*（tr. London 1977），832-3.

[50] ‘Letter to Runciman’，15 September 1938，*Opera Omnia*，XIX 143.

[51] Hajo Holborn□*A History of Modern Germany 1840-1945*□London 1969□□780ff.

[52] Gilbert□*Churchill*□V 999ff.

[53] André Beauffre□*1940□the Fall of France*□tr.London 1967□□84□Corelli Barnett□*The Collapse of British Power*□London 1972□□526-7.

[54] Hajo Holborn□*A History of Modern Germany 1840-1945*□London 1969□□777.

[55] William Shirer□*The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*□London 1960□□399.

[56] Joachim Fest□*Hitler*□tr. London 1977□□892□Kennan□*Memoirs 1925-1950*□108.

[57] See Franklin Reid Gannon□*The British Press and Germany 1936-1939*□Oxford 1971□□Martin□*Editor*□254-7.

[58] Corelli Barnett□*The Collapse of British Power*□London 1972□□560.

[59] *The Times*□leading article□1 April 1939□Gilbert□*Churchill*□V 1052-3.

[60] Andreas Hillgruber□*Germany and the Two World Wars*□tr.□Harvard 1981□□61-2.

[61] Andreas Hillgruber□*Germany and the Two World Wars*□tr.□Harvard 1981□□66.

[62] Corelli Barnett□*The Collapse of British Power*□London 1972□□569.

[63] Joachim Fest□*Hitler*□tr. London 1977□□917□Andreas Hillgruber□*Germany and the Two World Wars*□tr.□Harvard 1981□□63.

[64] Joachim Fest□*Hitler*□tr. London 1977□□869.

[65] Hubertus Lupke□'Japans Russlandpolitik von 1939 bis 1941'□*Schriften des Instituts für Asienkunde in Hamburg*□X□Frankfurt 1962□□7-24.

[66] Joachim Fest□*Hitler*□tr. London 1977□□884-5□for sources see 1177-8□note 27.

[67] Hans Gunther Seraphim□ed.□□*Das politische Tagebuch Alfred Rosenbergs*□Gottingen 1956□□82□Gustav Hilder and Alfred G. Meyer□*The Incompatible Allies□a Memoir-History of the German-Soviet Relationship□1918-1941*□New York 1953□□315.

[68] Joachim Fest□*Hitler*□tr. London 1977□□879-80.

[69] Albert Tarulis□*Soviet Policy towards the Baltic States 1919-1940*□Notre Dame 1959□□154-5.

[70] Michael Freund，*Weltgeschichte der Gegenwart in Dokumenten*（Freiburg 1954-6），Ⅲ 166ff.

[71] F.La Ruche，*La Neutralité de la Suède*（Paris 1953）.

[72] Henri Michel，*The Second World War*（tr.London 1975），for details.

[73] A.Rossi，*Deux Ans d’alliance germano-sovietique*（Paris 1949），88-90；*Hitler's Table-Talk*（tr.London 1953），8.

[74] Carl Burckhardt，*Meine Danzinger Mission 1937-1979*（Munich 1960），348；quoted in Andreas Hillgruber，*Germany and the Two World Wars*（tr.，Harvard 1981），69.

[75] Joachim Fest，*Hitler*（tr. London 1977），908；sources，1179，note 7.

[76] Joachim Fest，*Hitler*（tr. London 1977），906，921-2.

[77] J.-B. Duraselle，*La Décadence 1932-1939*（Paris 1979）.

[78] Dominique Leca，*La Rupture de 1940*（Paris 1979）.

[79] François Bedarida（ed.），*La Strategie sécrète de la Drole de Guerre*（Paris 1979）；see also *Français et Britanniques dans la Drole de Guerre*（*Actes du Colloque Franco-Britannique de decembre 1975*（Paris 1978）.

[80] Joachim Fest□*Hitler*□tr. London 1977□□940□1181 note 10□Helmut Heiber□ed.□□*Hitlers Lagebesprechungen*□Stuttgart 1962□□30.

[81] Marc Bloch□*Strange Defeat*□tr.Oxford 1949□□36-7.

[82] See Dr Pierre Renchnick in *Médeciné et Hygène*□Geneva□September 1981□.

[83] Marc Bloch□*Strange Defeat*□tr.Oxford 1949□□28.

[84] Henri Michel□*Le Procès de Riom*□Pans 1979□.

[85] Richard Griffith□*Marshal Fétain*□London 1970□□Judith Hughes□*To the Maginot Line□the Politics of French Military Preparation in the 1920s*□Harvard 1971□.

[86] Quoted in Raymond Tournoux□*Pétain et la France*□Paris 1980□.

[87] Quoted in Robert Aron□*The Vichy Regime 1940-1944*□tr.London 1958□□122.

[88] Alan Milward□*The New Order and the French Economy*□Oxford 1970□□272-88.

[89] J.W.D. Trythall□*Franco□a Biography*□London 1970□□161-3□*Documenti Diplomatici Italiani 9th* series□Rome 1954□□IV No. 260.

[90] Paul Schmidt□*Hitler's Interpreter*□tr.London 1951□□191-4□*Ciano's Diplomatic Papers*□412.

[91] Franz Halder□*Kriegstagebuch□Tägliche Aufzeichnungen des Chefs des Generalstabes des Heeres 1939-1942*□Stuttgart 1962□I 308.

[92] Karl Klee□*Das Unternehmen'Seelöwe'*□Gottingen 1958□□189-90.

[93] Franz Halder□*Kriegstagebuch□Tägliche Aufzeichnungen des Chefs des Generalstabes des Heeres 1939-1942*□Stuttgart 1962□□I 375.

[94] Quoted in Andreas Hillgruber□*Germany and the Two World Wars*□tr.□Harvard 1981□□354n.

[95] Daniel Benjamin and Levis Kochin□'Voluntary Unemployment in Interwar Britain'□*The Banker*□*February* 1979.

[96] A.J. Younger□*Britain's Economic Growth 1920-1966*□London 1967□□112.

[97] R.S. Sayers in *Economic Journal*□June 1950.

[98] A.J. Younger□*Britain's Economic Growth 1920-1966*□London 1967□□107ff.□H.W. Richardson□*Economic Recovery in Britain 1932-1939*□London 1967□.

[99] Corelli Barnett□*The Collapse of British Power*□London 1972□□482-3.

[100] See M.M. Postan□D. Hay and J.D. Scott□*The Design and Development of Weapons*□London 1964□.

[101] For Churchill's popularity in summer 1940□see Brian Gardner□*Churchill in his Time□a Study in a Reputation 1939-1945*□London 1968□□65-96.

[102] David Carlton□*Anthony Eden*□London 1981□□163.

[103] Robert Rhodes James□ed.□□*Chips□the Diaries of Sir Henry Channon*□Penguin 1967□□19 July 1940□320.

[104] Cecil's *aide-mémoire is printed in Hugh* Cudlipp□*Publish and Be Damned*□London 1953□□144.

[105] Winston Churchill□*The Second World War□Their Finest Hour*□London 1949□□567.

[106] See□for instance□A.J.P. Taylor□*English History 1914-45*□London 1970 ed.□□629ff. and note C 648-9.

[107] Quoted in Brian Gardner□*Churchill in his Time□a Study in a Reputation 1939-1945*□London 1968□□69.

[108] H.Duncan Hall□*North American Supply*□London 1955□□247ff.

[109] A.J.P. Taylor□*English History 1914-45*□London 1970 ed.□□623-4□647.

11. [illegible]

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[illegible]1941[illegible]3[illegible]30[illegible]250[illegible][26][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][27][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]3000[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Einsatzgruppen[illegible]

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这个地区必须失去亚洲大草原的特征。它必须欧洲化！……“德国农民”将生活在格外美丽的殖民地。德国的机构和政府当局将有令人惊叹的漂亮大楼，总督有漂亮的官殿。在每座城市的周围，一圈可爱的村庄将被安置在三四十公里的范围之内。……这就是我们如今为什么在克里米亚的南端修建大的交通干道的原因，这些干道一直通到高加索山脉。在这些交通干道的周围，将会安排德国人的城市，就像线串上的珍珠一样，德国人的移居地散落在城市的周围。因为我们不会通过进入古老而荒凉的俄罗斯洞穴来拓展自己的生存空间。德国人的移居地必须在更高的水平上。[30]

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[illegible]" [56] [illegible]1939[illegible]100[illegible]1941[illegible]12[illegible]60[illegible]1942[illegible]"[illegible]"[illegible]

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1940[illegible]9[illegible]19[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][68][illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[69]

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> 对日本实施石油禁运是一项在全国各地都深受欢迎的举措，就像你能够做到的那样。从对日石油禁运中可能会发展出这样一种形势，它使得我们不仅有可能而且很容易以一种有效的方式投入这场战争。如果我们就这样间接地被卷入进来，我们就会避免人们批评我们是作为共产主义苏联的盟友而主动卷入。[73]

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大藏大臣贺屋兴宣：如果我们像现在这样维持下去而不打仗，3年后假如美国舰队来攻击我们，海军还有没有机会赢得这场战争呢？（这个问题被问了好几遍）

海军参谋长永野修身：没人知道。

贺屋兴宣：美国舰队会不会来攻击我们？

永野修身：我不知道。

贺屋兴宣：我不认为他们会来。

永野修身：我们可以现在避免战争，而在3年后开战。要么，我们可以现在开战，并计划3年后的形势如何。我想，现在开战更容易。[74]

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[illegible]1941[illegible]1[illegible]27[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][76][illegible]1921[illegible]·[illegible]*Sea Power in the Pacific*[illegible]*The Great Pacific War*[illegible]1925[illegible][77][illegible]1941[illegible]9[illegible]2[illegible]

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接下来，他们感觉到了毒气，挤在一起远离那些险恶的金属柱，最后蜂拥着奔向巨大的金属门，门上有个小窗，他们在那里堆积成一个蓝色的、湿漉漉的、血迹斑斑的金字塔，互相抓挠着，一直到死。25分钟后，“排气”电泵抽走了充满毒气的空气，巨大的金属门滑开了，处理犹太人的特遣队走了进来，他们戴着防毒面具，穿着橡胶靴，拿着消防水管，因为他们的第一项任务是要清除血污和排泄物，然后再用套索和钩子把互相抓挠的死者分开，这些只是前奏，接下来是令人毛骨悚然的工作：搜寻黄金，拔掉牙齿，扯下头发，德国人把这些东西看作战略物资。然后，用升降机或轨道车把尸体运往焚尸炉，磨粉机把炉渣研成细灰，再用卡车运走，把这些灰烬撒入索拉河。[69]

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法本公司让奴隶劳工沦为一种可消耗的原材料，一种人形的原材料，从中可以系统地榨取生命的矿物质。一旦没有可用的能量剩下，这个活着的废物就被运往比克瑙的毒气室和焚尸炉中心，党卫军在那里把它回收进德国的战时经济——金牙齿给德意志帝国银行，头发做床垫，脂肪做肥皂。[75]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]6[illegible]1944[illegible]12[illegible]1[illegible]1945[illegible]1[illegible]15[illegible]222269[illegible]192652[illegible]99922[illegible][76][illegible]

[illegible]1939[illegible]10[illegible]28[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]1.2[illegible]”[illegible]

英国人，尤其是英国的贵族和贵夫人，几乎都是这种食物喂养大的。……吃粥被认为是最正确的。恰好是这些人，男人也好，女人也罢，都因为他们修长的身材而格外引人注目。出于这个原因，我们国

家的妈妈们应当习惯于吃粥，并学会给她们的孩子喂粥。希特勒万岁！[77]

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1944[illegible]7[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

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> 如今你们什么都知道了，你们最好是守口如瓶。大概要过一段时间，要过很长的一段时间，我们可能考虑是不是告诉德国人民关于此事的一点情况。但我认为，我们最好是不说！在这里，正是我们肩负起了责任，既对行动负责，也对观念负责，我想，我们最好是把这个秘密带到坟墓里去。[80]

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1945[illegible][90] [illegible]

[illegible]1948[illegible]7[illegible]29[illegible]·[illegible]6[illegible]11[illegible]18[illegible]8[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][91] [illegible]1951[illegible]1[illegible]·[illegible]·J. [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

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[illegible]1942[illegible]6[illegible]4[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][93][illegible]1944[illegible]6[illegible]2857[illegible]62795[illegible]52109[illegible][94][illegible]1943[illegible]10[illegible]20[illegible]16[illegible]1944[illegible]100[illegible][95][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1943[illegible]1944[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][96][illegible]600[illegible]500[illegible]50%[illegible]40%[illegible]5[illegible]3285000[illegible]3.5[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]3175000[illegible][97]

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[illegible]72[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]24.5[illegible]10[illegible]10[illegible][104][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]20[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]6[illegible][105][illegible]

8[illegible]9[illegible]——[illegible]74800[illegible]8[illegible]13[illegible]16[illegible]160[illegible]8[illegible]13[illegible]1500[illegible]B29[illegible]

[illegible]8[illegible]14[illegible]

> 在投降的时候，不管他们讨论了多少次，都不可能达成一致。……当铃木贯太郎在御前会议上问我，这两种观点应该采纳哪一种的时候，我破天荒地得到了这样的机会，可以表达我自己的自由意志，同时又不侵犯其他任何人的权威或责任。[106]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[107] [illegible][108]

[illegible]1[illegible]TNT[illegible]

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> 跟纽伦堡法庭上德国被告的罪行比起来，日本被告的罪行远没有那么邪恶、多样和广泛，但是，酷刑、谋杀、强奸及其他最野蛮的残忍暴行以如此巨大的规模、按照如此普遍的模式实施着，以至于唯一可能的结论是：这些邪恶暴行是日本政府或其成员或者武装力量领导人秘密下令执行的，要么就是故意默许的。[109]

[illegible]·[illegible]1920[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]400[illegible]1945[illegible]9[illegible]

日本战俘管理的基本原则是：在食物和军事供应品上以最小的成本，最大化地榨取战俘的劳动。到最后，这让他们陷入了一个犯罪的深渊，吞没了整个管理部门，并把日本人变成了纯粹而简单的杀人凶手。……所有战俘营都是按照同样的路线管理的：他们并没有违反他们自己的任何规章……如果审判他们，我们必定针对个人提出证据，但事实上正是制度制造出了罪犯。[110]

[illegible]5[illegible]1.6[illegible]23.5[illegible]4%[illegible]13.2[illegible]27%[illegible][111]

[illegible]25[illegible]4[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]7[illegible]920[illegible]3000[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible][112][illegible]400[illegible]·[illegible]*De Profundis*[illegible]“[illegible]”——[illegible][113][illegible]1943[illegible]3[illegible]3[illegible]“[illegible]

[illegible]”[114][illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[115][illegible]1937[illegible]1938[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[116][illegible]

[illegible]1939[illegible]9[illegible]1941[illegible]4[illegible]

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[illegible]1941[illegible]1943[illegible]1944[illegible]8[illegible]1948[illegible]12[illegible]9[illegible]1944[illegible]5[illegible]31[illegible]10%[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1944[illegible]6[illegible]17[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[119][illegible]·[illegible]6[illegible]24[illegible]

> 这完全是苏联当局的问题，跟英国政府毫无关系。到最后，苏联当局想要处理的那些人都必须交给他们，他们究竟是被枪毙，还是会受到比在英国法律下更严酷的对待，都和我们没有关系。

[illegible]·[illegible]1944[illegible]9[illegible]4[illegible][120]

[illegible]1[illegible]12[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1945[illegible]6[illegible]10[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

苏联当局拒绝接受任何躺在担架上的病人，即使是奄奄一息的病人，也要他们拿着自己的行李步行下船……一个试图自杀的病人受到非常粗暴的对待，他的伤口开裂了，血流不止。他被带下了船，走到码头上一个大货箱的后面。只听一声枪响，什么也看不见。

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[1] George Bruce□*Second Front Now□the Road to D-Day*□London 1979□□Ian Colvin□*Flight 777*□London 1957□for Leslie Howard.

[2] John Tolland□*The Rising Sun□the decline and fall of the Japanese Empire□1936-1945*□London 1971□□75-6 and footnote.

[3] John Tolland，*The Rising Sun：the decline and fall of the Japanese Empire，1936-1945*（London 1971），441-4；Burke Davis，*Get Yamamoto*（New York 1969）.

[4] Barbara Tuchman，*The Zimmerman Telegram*（New York 1958）.

[5] David Kahn，‘Codebreaking in World Wars I and Ⅱ：the Major Successes and Failures，their Causes and their Effects’，*Cambridge Historical Journal*，September 1980.

[6] Richard Woytak，*On the Border of War and Peace：Polish Intelligence and Diplomacy in 1939 and the Origins of the Ultra Secret*（Boulder 1979）.

[7] It was first revealed by F.W. Winterbotham，*The Ultra Secret*（London 1974），written from memory.

[8] Ralph Bennett，‘Ultra and Some Command Decisions’，*Journal of Contemporary History*，16（1981），131-51.

[9] Vice-Admiral B.B. Schofield，‘The Defeat of the U-boats During World War Two’，*Journal of Contemporary History*，119-29；P. Beesley，*Very Special Intelligence*（London 1977），152-85；see also Jürgen Rohwer and Eberhard Jackel（eds），*Die Funkaufklarung und ihre Rolle in 2 Weltkrieg*（1979），report on international conference held 15-18 November 1978 on reasons for U-boat defeat.

[10] John Masterman，*The Double-Cross System in the War of 1939-1945*（Yale 1972）.

[11] Edward Van Der Rhoer，*Deadly Magic：a personal account of communications intelligence in World War Two in the Pacific*（New York 1978）；W.J. Holmes，*Double-Edged Secrets：US Naval Intelligence Operations in the Pacific during World War Two*（Annapolis 1979）.

[12] Harold Deutsch，'The Historical Impact of Revealing the Ultra Secret'，US Army War College，*Parameters*，Ⅶ 3（1978）.

[13] John Tolland，*The Rising Sun：the decline and fall of the Japanese Empire，1936-1945*（London 1971），444-6.

[14] Milward，*German Economy at War*.

[15] Andreas Hillgruber，*Hitlers Strategie：Politik und Kriegführung 1940 bis 1941*（Frankfurt 1965），38 footnote；Joachim Fest，*Hitler*（tr. London 1977），1179-80，note 11.

[16] Quoted in Seaton，*Stalin as Warlord*，263.

[17] Joachim Fest，*Hitler*（tr. London 1977），980.

[18] Joachim Fest，*Hitler*（tr. London 1977），974.

[19] John Tolland，*The Rising Sun：the decline and fall of the Japanese Empire，1936-1945*（London 1971），327.

[20] 1□□□□=0.092903□□□□——□□□

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[23] Gilbert Burck□'GE Does IT'□*Fortune*□March 1942.

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[25] Nobutaka Ike□*Japan's Decision for War□records of the 1941 policy conferences*□Stanford 1967□□XXVI□George Bruce□*Second Front Now□the Road to D-Day*□London 1979□□for Churchill episode.

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[28] Charles Webster and Noble Frankland□*The Strategic Air Offensive Against Germany*□4 vols□London 1961□□Ⅲ 287□Taylor□*English History 1914-45*□693.

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[30] David Irving□*The Destruction of Dresden*□London 1963□□44-5□Martin Middlebrook□*The Battle of Hamburg*□London 1980□.

[31] David Irving□*The Destruction of Dresden*□London 1963□□51-2□99-100.

[32] David Irving□*The Destruction of Dresden*□London 1963□□154-8□175□142-3.

[33] Hugo Young□Brian Silcock and Peter Dunn□*Journey to Tranquillity□the History of Man*'s *Assault on the Moon*□London 1969□□29-32.

[34] David Irving□*The Mare's Nest*□London 1964□□299□306-14.

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[37] See Freeman Dyson□*Disturbing the Universe*□New York 1979□.

[38] Margaret Gowing□*Britain and Atomic Energy□1939-1945*□London 1964□□45-51.

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[41] Stephane Groueff□*Manhattan Project*□Boston 1967□□62□Leslie Groves□*Now It Can Be Told□the Story of the Manhattan Project*□New York 1962□□107.

[42] Peter Pringle and James Spigelman□*The Nuclear Barons*□London 1982□□26ff.

[43] David Holloway□'Entering the Nuclear Arms Race□the Soviet Decision to Build the Atomic Bomb 1939-45'□*Working Paper N. 9*□Woodrow Wilson Center□Washington DC 1979□.

[44] Strobe Talbot□ed.□□*Khrushchev Remembers□the Last Testament*□London 1974□□60.

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[46] Hermann Rauschning□*Hitler's Revolution of Destruction*□London 1939□.

[47] Ernst Nolte□*Three Faces of Fascism*□tr. London 1965□□234.

[48] Mussolini□*Opera Omnia*□XXXI 223.

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[50] Joachim Fest□*Hitler*□tr. London 1977□□1031.

[51] Michael Balfour□‘The Origins of the Formula “Unconditional Surrender” in World War Two’□*Armed Forces and Society*□Chicago University□Winter 1979□.

[52] Hans Speidel□*Invasion 1944*□Tübingen 1961□□155.

[53] Quoted in Paul Schmidt□*Hitler's Interpreter*□tr.London 1951□.

[54] *Hitler's Table-Talk*□657□661□666□684□Joachim Fest□*Hitler*□tr. London 1977□□1057□1063.

[55] Joachim Fest□*Hitler*□tr. London 1977□□1057-9.

[56] See Hugh Trevor-Roper□‘Thomas Carlyle's Historical Philosophy’□*The Times Literary Supplement*□26 June 1981□731-4.

[57] Quoted in Hugh Trevor-Roper□*The Last Days of Hitler*□London 1947□□51.

[58] □□——□□□

[59] Albert Zollar□*Hitler privat*□Dusseldorf 1949□□150.

[60] Joachim Fest□*Hitler*□tr. London 1977□□1069ff.□1077□1104-12.

[61] A.Mitscherlich and F. Mielke□*The Death Doctors*□London 1962□□236ff.□Manvell and Fraenkel□*Himmler*□87ff.□Hajo Holborn□*A History of Modern Germany 1840-1945*□London 1969□□811.

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[63] Joachim Fest□*Hitler*□tr. London 1977□□1011.

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[65] Manvell and Fraenkel□*Himmler*□120-2.

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[67] For a selection see Raul Hilberg□ed.□□*Documents of Destruction*□*Germany and Jewry 1933-1945*□New York 1971□□and his *Destruction of the European Jews*□New York 1961□.

[68] Martin Gilbert□*Final Journey*□*the Fate of the Jews in Nazi Europe*□London 1979□□69-70.

[69] Quoted from Gerald Reitlinger，*The Final Solution*（London 1953）.

[70] Gilbert，*Final Journey*，77-8.

[71] Albert Speer，*The Slave State*（London 1981），302-4.

[72] Albert Speer，*The Slave State*（London 1981），368 note 23.

[73] See Benjamin B. Ferencz，*Less than Slaves：Jewish Forced Labor and the Quest for Compensation*（Harvard 1981）.

[74] *Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal*（ed. L.D. Egbert，42 vols，Nuremberg 1947-9），I 245.

[75] Borkin，op. cit.，111-27.

[76] Gilbert，*Final Journey*，78.

[77] Manvell and Fraenkel，*Himmler*，91.

[78] Manvell and Fraenkel，*Himmler*，104-11. See also A. Mitscherlich and F. Mielke，*The Death Doctors*（London 1962）.

[79] Manvell and Fraenkel，*Himmler*，Appendix B，252-3.

[80] Manvell and Fraenkel□*Himmler*□136-7□196-7.

[81] Gilbert□*Final Journey*□70□Luba Krugman Gurdus□*The Death Train*□New York 1979□.

[82] See□for a discussion of this aspect□Rainer C. Baum□*The Holocaust and the German Elite□Genocide and National Suicide in Germany 1871-1945*□London 1982□.

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[85] Michael R. Marrus and Robert O. Paxton□*Vichy France and the Jews*□New York 1981□.

[86] Martin Gilbert□*Auschwitz and the Allies*□London 1981□□267-70.

[87] Quoted in Martin Gilbert□*Auschwitz and the Allies*□London 1981□□267-70.

[88] John Wheeler-Bennett and Anthony Nicholls□*The Semblance of Peace□the Political Settlement after the Second World War*□New York 1972□□146-8□166□Alexander Werth□*Russia at War 1941-1945*□New York 1965□□267-8.

[89] Aaron Goldman，‘Germans and Nazis：the controversy over “Vansittartism” in Britain during the Second World War’，*Journal of Contemporary History*，14（1979），155-91.

[90] Manvell and Fraenkel，*Himmler*，157，169-70，266 footnote 20.

[91] Borkin，op. cit.，135-56.

[92] Figures from Ferencz，*Less than Slaves*.

[93] John Tolland，*The Rising Sun：the decline and fall of the Japanese Empire，1936-1945*（London 1971），499 footnote.

[94] Robert Rhodes James（ed.），*Chips：the Diaries of Sir Henry Channon*（Penguin 1967），19 July 1940，322.

[95] John Tolland，*The Rising Sun：the decline and fall of the Japanese Empire，1936-1945*（London 1971），477-8.

[96] Robert Rhodes James（ed.），*Chips：the Diaries of Sir Henry Channon*（Penguin 1967），19 July 1940，246-7，321，396.

[97] Robert Rhodes James（ed.），*Chips：the Diaries of Sir Henry Channon*（Penguin 1967），19 July 1940，299；John Tolland，*The Rising Sun：the decline and fall of the Japanese Empire，1936-1945*（London 1971），468.

[98] John Tolland*The Rising Sunthe decline and fall of the Japanese Empire1936-1945*London 1971469-71.

[99] Robert Rhodes Jamesed.*Chipsthe Diaries of Sir Henry Channon*Penguin 196719 July 1940246-7.

[100] Robert Rhodes Jamesed.*Chipsthe Diaries of Sir Henry Channon*Penguin 196719 July 1940293.

[101] Lansing Lamont*Day of Trinity*New York 1965235.

[102] For the bomb decisionsee Martin Sherwin*A World Destroyedthe Atomic Bomb and the Grand Alliance*New York 1975chapter 8.

[103] John Tolland*The Rising Sunthe decline and fall of the Japanese Empire1936-1945*London 1971756.

[104] Calculation of Professor Shogo NagaokaFirst curator of the Peace Memorial in HiroshimaJohn Tolland*The Rising Sunthe decline and fall of the Japanese Empire1936-1945*London 1971790 footnote.

[105] Robert Rhodes Jamesed.*Chipsthe Diaries of Sir Henry Channon*Penguin 196719 July 1940328Deborah Shapley‘Nuclear Weapons HistoryJapan's Wartime Bomb-projects Revealed’*Science*13 January 1978.

[106] John Tolland□*The Rising Sun□the decline and fall of the Japanese Empire□1936-1945*□London 1971□□813 footnote.

[107] Text in R.J.C. Butow□*Japan's Decision to Surrender*□Stanford 1954□248.

[108] W.G. Beasley□*The Modern History of Japan*□London 1963 ed.□□277-8.

[109] See the International Military Tribunal for the Far East□*Proceedings*□3 May 1946 to 16 April 1946□*Judgement*□November 1948□Tokyo.

[110] Robert Rhodes James□ed.□□*Chips□the Diaries of Sir Henry Channon*□Penguin 1967□□19 July 1940□259-60.

[111] Philip R. Piccigallo□*The Japanese on Trial□Allied War Crimes Operations in the East 1945-1951*□Austin 1979□□27.

[112] Philip R. Piccigallo□*The Japanese on Trial□Allied War Crimes Operations in the East 1945-1951*□Austin 1979□□23□for dissenting opinions.

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[115] John Tolland□*The Rising Sun□the decline and fall of the Japanese Empire□1936-1945*□London 1971□□677 footnote.

[116] Martin Sherwin□*A World Destroyed□the Atomic Bomb and the Grand Alliance*□New York 1975□□302.

[117] Peter A. Poole□*America in World Politics□Foreign Policy and Policymakers since 1898*□New York 1975□□130.

[118] Robert Rhodes James□ed.□□*Chips□the Diaries of Sir Henry Channon*□Penguin 1967□□19 July 1940□335-40.

[119] Nicholas Bethell□*The Last Secret□Forcible Repatriation to Russia 1944-1947*□London 1974□□5.

[120] Nicholas Bethell□*The Last Secret□Forcible Repatriation to Russia 1944-1947*□London 1974□□8-13□David Carlton□*Anthony Eden*□London 1981□□239-42.

[121] Nicholas Bethell□*The Last Secret□Forcible Repatriation to Russia 1944-1947*□London 1974□□8-13□David Carlton□*Anthony Eden*□London 1981□□239-42□Nicholas Bethell□*The Last Secret□Forcible Repatriation to Russia 1944-1947*□London 1974□□57-60.

[122] Joseph Hecomovic□*Tito's Death-Marches and Extermination Camps*□New York 1962□23.

[123] Nicholas Bethell□*The Last Secret□Forcible Repatriation to Russia 1944-1947*□London 1974□□82□101□131-3□142-3.

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> 英国和美国的做法在这里必须解释为软弱的标志……这些人一旦意识到我们在安抚他们、补偿他们或需要他们，他们便立即停止合作了。……我的经验是，他们只对武力做出回应，如果不能诉诸武力，就诉诸东方式的直接易货交易。[2]

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> 目前，阻止事态全面崩溃超出了本国的能力。责任在于美国，我的愿望是竭尽全力支持他们。如果他们觉得什么事情也做不了，那我们就只好顺其自然了。[16]

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从波罗的海的斯德丁到亚得里亚海的的里雅斯特，一道铁幕降落下来，横贯欧洲大陆。在那条线的后面，是中欧和东欧所有古老国家的首都……我必须把它们称作苏联的势力范围，所有这些国家都以这样那样的形式，不仅服从于苏联的影响，而且服从于来自莫斯科的非常高压的、在很多情况下程度不断增长的控制。

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□□□1949□2□□□□□5□□1949□4□4□□11□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□5□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□-□□□“□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1947□7□□□□□□□□□*Foreign Affairs*□□□□□□□□“X”□□□□□□□□□·□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”[47]□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

1949□2□3□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□68□□□”□NSC-68□□□□□□□□30□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[48]□□——1949□9□3□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□B29□□□□□□□□18000□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□8□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[49]□□□NSC-68□□□□□□□□□□□□□□13.8%□□□□□□□□□□□6%□7%□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□20%□□□□□□□□1950□4

[illegible]47[illegible]675[illegible]100[illegible][50]

[illegible]1948[illegible]1949[illegible]1945[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][51][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Big Four[illegible]“[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]‘[illegible]’”[52]

[illegible]1942[illegible]2[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1944[illegible]“[illegible]”[53][illegible]1941[illegible]1[illegible]9000[illegible]1943[illegible]

[illegible]1944[illegible]10[illegible]-[illegible][54]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[55][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1945[illegible]4[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[56][illegible]

[illegible]1940[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][57][illegible]

[illegible]1945[illegible]1949[illegible]1945[illegible]

[illegible]1945[illegible]1945[illegible]1949[illegible]5[illegible]20[illegible]

[illegible]1947[illegible]1948[illegible]9[illegible]10[illegible]5[illegible]*The Peiping Chronicle*[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[58][illegible]

> 为了控制物价和跟囤积居奇做斗争，政府做出了一些孩子气的努力……结果……很大程度上是为了控制物价而用刺刀强行征收粮食，并使得被征收来的粮食以黑市价重新卖出成为可能，这纯粹是为了军队和政府官员中饱私囊。[59]

[illegible]1948[illegible]8[illegible]19[illegible]11[illegible]8[illegible]20[illegible]300[illegible]1000[illegible]1800[illegible][60][illegible]“[illegible]”——[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]500[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][61]

[illegible]1948[illegible]1945[illegible]8[illegible]370[illegible]6000[illegible]32[illegible]

[illegible]16.6[illegible]1948[illegible]6[illegible]210[illegible]150[illegible]100[illegible]22800[illegible]21000[illegible]10[illegible][62]

[illegible]1948[illegible]12[illegible]1949[illegible]1[illegible]40[illegible]20[illegible]14[illegible]1949[illegible]2[illegible]1[illegible]1948[illegible]272.3[illegible]150[illegible]50[illegible]162.2[illegible]1949[illegible]4[illegible]10[illegible][63]

[illegible]40[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][64][illegible]

[illegible]4[illegible]1947[illegible]

[illegible][65][illegible]1948[illegible]1949[illegible]1949[illegible]

“[illegible]”[illegible]1949[illegible]1950[illegible]1[illegible]12[illegible]·[illegible]500[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][66]

[illegible]——[illegible]1947[illegible]1948[illegible]2[illegible]“[illegible]”[67][illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][68]

[illegible]3[illegible]1[illegible]3[illegible]27[illegible]“[illegible]”[69] 6[illegible]28[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]8400[illegible]1950[illegible][70][illegible]1949[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1953[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[71]

[illegible][72][illegible]1948[illegible]1948[illegible]8[illegible]31[illegible][73][illegible]1950[illegible]1[illegible]10[illegible]1950[illegible]11[illegible][74][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]6[illegible]25[illegible]

[illegible]20[illegible]3.4[illegible]100[illegible]25[illegible][75][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]3[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1950[illegible]10[illegible]21[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]12[illegible]28[illegible]1951[illegible]4[illegible]1951[illegible]10[illegible]1[illegible]27[illegible]1952[illegible]5[illegible]18[illegible][76]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1959[illegible]6[illegible]20[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[77][illegible]1963[illegible]6[illegible]10[illegible]

[illegible]1950[illegible]1[illegible]NSC-68[illegible]1950[illegible]177[illegible]1952[illegible]440[illegible]500[illegible]4[illegible][7

[8] [illegible]1951[illegible]2[illegible]1944[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1945[illegible]1946[illegible]

[illegible]2000[illegible]1946[illegible]2[illegible]9[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]3[illegible]4[illegible]·[illegible][79] [illegible]1946[illegible]8[illegible]14[illegible]*Zvezda*[illegible]*Leningrad*[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]1946[illegible]*The Young Guard*[illegible]1947[illegible]1947[illegible]6[illegible]

[illegible]*History of West European Philosophy*[illegible]·[illegible]1948[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][80]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]194 8[illegible]7[illegible]31[illegible][81][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]V.R. [illegible]——[illegible]N.Y. [illegible]4[illegible]sal[illegible]b er[illegible]yon[illegible]rosh[82][illegible]1950[illegible]6[illegible]20[illegible]1[illegible]

如果你在工作中遇到困难，或者突然怀疑自己的能力，那么想想他——想想斯大林——你就会找到你所需要的信心。如果你在不应该疲倦的时刻感觉到疲倦，那么想想他——想想斯大林——你的工作就

会顺利地进行下去。如果你正在寻求正确的决定，那么想想他——想想斯大林——你就会得到正确的决定。[83]

[illegible]1949[illegible]*Great Soviet Encyclopedia*[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“1751[illegible]1752[illegible]·[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]*Short Biography of Stalin*[illegible]“[illegible]”[84]

1948[illegible]1949[illegible][85][illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1949[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1000[illegible][86][illegible]1946[illegible]1949[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible][87][illegible]8[illegible]5[illegible]

[illegible]1952[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[88][illegible]——[illegible][89][illegible]1952[illegible]10[illegible][90]

[illegible]11[illegible]4[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1934[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[91][illegible]1938[illegible]

[illegible]1917[illegible]1952[illegible]12[illegible]21[illegible]20[illegible]

□□□□□□□□□□[92]□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1953□2□17□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□”[93]□□□3□2□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□3□5□□□“□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[94]□□[95]

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□□□□1920□□□1930□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1938□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1939□□□□□1940□□

> 1930年代晚期，美国共产党的成员或代理人（自觉的或不自觉的）对美国政府部门的渗透不是凭空虚构的无稽之谈……而是确实存在；他们所占的比例尽管不是压倒性多数，但也并非微不足道。

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[97]

[illegible]1946[illegible]11[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]3[illegible]“9835[illegible]”[illegible][98][illegible]1947[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1949[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]1944[illegible]4[illegible]2.25[illegible][99][illegible]1945[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]OSS[illegible]OSS[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]J.[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]4[illegible]1950[illegible]1[illegible]25[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]205[illegible]·[illegible]1960[illegible]1933[illegible]1945[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]……[illegible]”[100][illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[101]

[illegible]——[illegible]17[illegible]18[illegible]1930[illegible]1960[illegible]1970[illegible]

[illegible]1970[illegible][102][illegible]1965[illegible]1975[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[103][illegible]20[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]1952[illegible]11[illegible]1916[illegible]1940[illegible]1964[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1952[illegible]1972[illegible]·[illegible]20[illegible]

[illegible][104][illegible]9[illegible][105][illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]1954[illegible]12[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][106]

[illegible]20[illegible]1953[illegible]1961[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[107][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible][108][illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[109][illegible]1970[illegible]·[illegible]7[illegible]30[illegible]——[illegible]*Christian Science Monitor*[illegible]——[illegible][110]

[illegible]·[illegible][111][illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[112][illegible]——[illegible]1953[illegible]·[illegible][113][illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[114][illegible][115][illegible]20[illegible]

[illegible][116][illegible]1956[illegible]1958[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[117][illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible][118][illegible]1958[illegible]1961[illegible]1954[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible][119][illegible]1952[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible][120][illegible]·[illegible]1919[illegible]“[illegible]”[121][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[122][illegible]1958[illegible]94[illegible][123][illegible]

□□1956□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”[124]□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□1960□□□

□□□□□□□□1950□1952□□□“□□”□□□□□□□1940□□

[1] Robert Rhodes James□ed.□□*Chips□the Diaries of Sir Henry Channon*□Penguin 1967□□19 July 1940□505.

[2] Quoted in Charles Bohlen□*Witness to History 1929-1969*□New York 1973□□26-9.

[3] Robert Sherwood□*Roosevelt and Hopkins*□2 vols□New York 1950□□I 387-423□Adam B. Ulam□*Stalin□the Man and his Era*□New York 1973□□539-42□560-1.

[4] Daniel Yergin□*Shattered Peace□the Origins of the Cold War and the National Security State*□Boston 1977□□54.

[5] Winston Churchill□*Wartime Correspondence*□London 1960□□196.

[6] Cairo Conference 1943. Quoted in Terry Anderson□*The United States□Great Britain and the Cold War 1944-1947*□Colombia 1981□□4.

[7] Quoted in Robert Garson□The Atlantic Alliance□East Europe and the Origin of the Cold War'in H.C. Allen and Rogert Thompson□eds□□*Contrast and Connection*□Athens□Ohio 1976□□298-9.

[8] Lord Moran□*Churchill□the Struggle for Survival□1940-1944*□London 1968□□154.

[9] John Wheeler-Bennett and Anthony Nicholls□*The Semblance of Peace□the Political Settlement after the Second World War*□New York 1972□□290.

[10] Terry Anderson□*The United States□Great Britain and the Cold War 1944-1947*□Colombia 1981□□15.

[11] John R. Deane□*The Strange Alliance□the Story of American Efforts at Wartime Co-operation with Russia*□London 1947□□298.

[12] Lisle A. Rose□*Dubious Victory□the United States and the End of World War Two*□Kent□Ohio 1973□□l 6-7.

[13] Foreign Office Memo 21 March 1944□'Essentials of an American Policy'.

[14] The minute is in the Inverchapel Papers in the PRO□see David Carlton□*Anthony Eden*□London 1981□□244□Churchill□*Second World War*□VI 196-7.

[15] Diary of Sir Pierson Dixon□4 December 1944□quoted in David Carlton□*Anthony Eden*□London 1981□□248-9□Churchill□*Second World War*□VI 252.

[16] Quoted David Carlton□*Anthony Eden*□London 1981□□248.

[17] Averell Harriman and Elie Abel□*Special Envoy to Churchill and Stalin 1941-1946*□New York 1975□□390.

[18] Churchill□*Second World War*□VI 337.

[19] William D. Leahy□*I Was There*□New York 1950□□315-16.

[20] Terry Anderson□*The United States□Great Britain and the Cold War 1944-1947*□Colombia 1981□□47.

[21] Terry Anderson□*The United States□Great Britain and the Cold War 1944-1947*□Colombia 1981□□50.

[22] Viscount Montgomery□*Memoirs*□New York 1958□□296-7.

[23] Harry S. Truman□*Memoirs*□2 vols□New York 1955-6□□I 81-2.

[24] Omar Bradley□*A Soldier's Story*□New York 1951□□535-6□Forrest Pogue□*George C. Marshall□Organizer of Victory*□New York 1973□□573-4.

[25] Thomas Campbell and George Herring□*The Diaries of Edward R. Stettinius Jr□1943-1946*□New York 1975□□177-8.

[26] Terry Anderson□*The United States□Great Britain and the Cold War 1944-1947*□Colombia 1981□□69.

[27] Lord Moran□*Churchill□the Struggle for Survival□1940-1944*□London 1968□□305.

[28] Victor Rothwell□*Britain and the Cold War 1941-1947*□London 1982□.

[29] *Forrestal Diaries*□New York 1951□□38-40□57.

[30] Z. Stypulkowski□*Invitation to Moscow*□London 1951□.

[31] Terry Anderson□*The United States□Great Britain and the Cold War 1944-1947*□Colombia 1981□□75-6.

[32] Patricia Dawson Ward□*The Threat of Peace□James F. Byrnes and the Council of Foreign Ministers 1945-6*□Kent□Ohio 1979□.

[33] Daniel Yergin□*Shattered Peace□the Origins of the Cold War and the National Security State*□Boston 1977□□160-1□George Curry□‘James F. Byrnes’in Robert H. Ferrell and Samuel Flagg Bemiss□eds□□*The American Secretaries of State and their Diplomacy*□New York 1965□.

[34] Kennan□*Memoirs 1925-1950*□294.

[35] Text of speech in Robert Rhodes James□*Churchill Complete Speeches*□London 1974□□Ⅶ 7283-96□Jerome K. Ward□‘Winston Churchill and the Iron Curtain Speech’□*The History Teacher*□January 1968.

[36] Leahy Diaries□24 January□7 February 1946.

[37] John Morton Blun□*The Price of Vision□the Diary of Henry A. Wallace*□Boston 1973□□589-601□Daniel Yergin□*Shattered Peace□the Origins of the Cold War and the National Security State*□Boston 1977□□253-4.

[38] Dean Acheson□*Present at the Creation*□New York 1969□□219□Daniel Yergin□*Shattered Peace□the Origins of the Cold War and the National Security State*□Boston 1977□□281-2.

[39] Dean Acheson□*Present at the Creation*□New York 1969□□234.

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[58] Derk Bodde□*Peking Diary□a Year of Revolution*□tr. London 1951□□32.

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[60] Derk Bodde□*Peking Diary□a Year of Revolution*□tr. London 1951□□47.

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> 事实情况是，英国政府、总督，某种程度上还包括各邦，都被甘地的虚张声势给弄得开始相信：少数半生不熟、半粗半文的城市煽动者代表了3.65亿辛勤劳作、相对比较满足的耕耘者的观点。在我看来，大象似乎被跳蚤给吓得四处乱窜。[16]

[illegible]20[illegible]1917[illegible]1949[illegible]3[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]1935[illegible]1942[illegible]7[illegible]28[illegible]“[illegible]3[illegible]

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[21][illegible]

[illegible]20[illegible]·[illegible]

与其说英国对他很宽容，不如说他总是能够控制舆论宣传。……在一个政府反对者总是消失在夜幕中从此杳无音信的国家，很难看出甘地的方法如何能应用。如果没有自由的媒体和集会的权利，不仅诉诸外部舆论不可能，而且发起群众运动也是不可能的。……此时此刻，在苏联，甘地这样的人在哪里呢？[22]

[illegible]1920[illegible]1921[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]800[illegible]——[illegible]

你有时间照料那些可怜的母牛吗？……只有你那方面和我这方面应受惩罚的疏忽，她们才降低到母牛的位置——我指的是你母亲、你妻子、你的孩子和你的姐妹。……我不认为，一个能让自己的孩子忍饥挨饿的男人对国家能有什么用处。[23]

[illegible]1929[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]·[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]” [24] [illegible]1942[illegible]4[illegible]1940[illegible] [25] [illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]19[illegible]1946[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]” [26]

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[illegible]1[illegible]Konsepsi[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1945[illegible]Pantja Sila[illegible]“[illegible]”[47][illegible]NASAKOM[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]3[illegible]Nasionalisme[illegible]Agama[illegible]Komunisme[illegible]USDEK[illegible]MANIPOL[illegible]gotong-rojong[illegible]

[illegible]musjawarab[illegible]mufakat[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Demokrasi Terpimpin[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Ekonomi Terpimpin[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Kepribadian Indonesia[illegible]“[illegible]” [48]

[illegible]1950[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]-[illegible]-[illegible]-[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Ganjang Malaysia[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1963[illegible]NEKOLIM[illegible]BERDIKARI[illegible]1962[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1963[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Tahun Vivere Pericoloso[illegible]RESOPIM[illegible] [49]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1960[illegible] [50] [illegible]1960[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]1965[illegible]

[illegible]24[illegible]PKI[illegible]

[illegible]10[illegible]1[illegible]·[illegible][51][illegible][52][illegible]Gestapu[53][illegible]10[illegible]8[illegible]20[illegible]100[illegible]20[illegible]25[illegible][54][illegible]1970[illegible]6[illegible]21[illegible]

[illegible]1955[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]1908[illegible]1924[illegible]1936[illegible]5.24[illegible]9300[illegible]1944[illegible]21.81[illegible]17.68[illegible]1949[illegible][55][illegible]1940[illegible]1944[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]1944[illegible]14[illegible][56][illegible]4[illegible]“[illegible]

[illegible]” [57] [illegible]13%[illegible]1938[illegible]25%[illegible]1949[illegible]50%[illegible]80%[illegible] [58]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]1921[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]10[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1943[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]1920[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]1930[illegible]1939[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible] [59]

1942[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]7[illegible] [60] [illegible]·[illegible]1943[illegible]10[illegible]1944[illegible]11[illegible]4[illegible]10[illegible]100[illegible]150[illegible]

[illegible] [61] [illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]1942[illegible]1944[illegible]·[illegible]40[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]” [62] [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1946[illegible]7[illegible]5[illegible]40[illegible] [63] [illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]*New York Post*[illegible]

> 这些人很讨厌和他们的朋友纳粹分子战斗的想法，却充满热情地接受和犹太人战斗的想法。他们漫步于耶路撒冷和特拉维夫（犹太人建起的城市）的街头，唱着《霍斯特·威塞尔之歌》。他们走进水泄不通的集市，行着“希特勒万岁”的纳粹礼。[64]

1946[illegible]7[illegible]22[illegible]41[illegible]28[illegible]17[illegible]5[illegible][65][illegible]

[illegible]1947[illegible]7[illegible]30[illegible]“[illegible]”[66][illegible]1945[illegible]8[illegible]1947[illegible]9[illegible]141[illegible]44[illegible]25[illegible]37[illegible]7[illegible][67][illegible]1967[illegible]

[illegible]1945[illegible]7[illegible]·[illegible]1946[illegible]10[illegible]“[illegible]——[illegible]”[68][illegible]1947[illegible]2[illegible]14[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[69] [70]

[illegible]1941[illegible]·[illegible]-[illegible]“[illegible]500[illegible]”[71][illegible]-[illegible]“[illegible]”[72][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]·[illegible]5[illegible]”[73][illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[74][illegible]1948[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][75][illegible]1947[illegible]11[illegible]29[illegible]-[illegible]5[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[76][illegible]“[illegible]”[77][illegible]

[illegible]1[illegible]1947[illegible]1948[illegible]

[illegible][78][illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]2.1[illegible][79][illegible]10000[illegible]4500[illegible]7000[illegible]3000[illegible]3000[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]5500[illegible]53.8[illegible]39.7[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[80][illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]——[illegible]”[81][illegible]-[illegible]1948[illegible]4[illegible][82][illegible]12[illegible]10[illegible]1980[illegible]

[illegible]1918[illegible]93%[illegible]1947

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□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”[84]□□□□□□□□□□□□3□□2□□□□□□□5□□□[85]□1948□4□9□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□250□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□……□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”[86]□6□□□

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□□□30□□□□□□□□□□□□□120□□□

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][89][illegible]

[illegible]1946[illegible]10[illegible]“[illegible]”[90][illegible]1948[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[91][illegible]1948[illegible]1951[illegible]10[illegible]8[illegible]38[illegible]10[illegible]41[illegible]38[illegible]1[illegible]26[illegible]6[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]1948[illegible]“[illegible]

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□□1948□7□16□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□”[94]□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□”□□□□□□□□□1948□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

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[illegible]·[illegible]1948[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]25%[95][illegible]2[illegible]——[illegible]1970[illegible]1956[illegible]7[illegible]19[illegible]

1956[illegible]1957[illegible]1935[illegible]1955[illegible]·[illegible]1930[illegible]“[illegible]”[96][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[97][illegible]

[illegible]6[illegible]6[illegible]1888[illegible]·[illegible]1951[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]12[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]9[illegible]8[illegible][98][illegible]1888[illegible]1956[illegible]10[illegible]25[illegible]—[illegible]—[illegible]

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]1947[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]1950[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[103][illegible]

[illegible]1950[illegible]
[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1951[illegible]——[illegible]1956[illegible]10[illegible]25[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]10[illegible]31[illegible]3[illegible]“[illegible]”[104][illegible]1967[illegible]1956[illegible]

[illegible]19[illegible]20[illegible]19[illegible]20[illegible]

[illegible]1830[illegible]150[illegible]1830[illegible]2000[illegible]1954[illegible]27000[illegible][105][illegible]“[illegible]”[106]20%[illegible]1906[illegible]450[illegible]1954[illegible]900[illegible]1970[illegible]1950[illegible]3[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]2000[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][107]

[illegible]1950[illegible]90[illegible]1914[illegible]20[illegible]1954[illegible]9.3[illegible]1950[illegible]“[illegible]

[illegible]” [108] [illegible]1945[illegible]1400[illegible]20[illegible]699[illegible]125[illegible]“[illegible]……”

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]” [109] 1948[illegible]1951[illegible]

1951[illegible]5[illegible]103[illegible]40[illegible]*Liberté*[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1020[illegible]1300[illegible]4.5[illegible]FLN[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“1945[illegible]5[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]10[illegible]”

[illegible]1954[illegible]11[illegible]1[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“FLN”[illegible] [110] [illegible]“[illegible]3[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]20[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]1945[illegible]“[illegible]20[illegible]”[illegible]20[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]8[illegible]25[illegible]1035[illegible]6352[illegible]20000[illegible][111][illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]

> 有必要通过实施恐怖行为把政治危机转变为武装冲突，迫使那些掌握权力的人把这个国家的政治局势转变成一种军事局势。那样就会疏远群众，从那时起，群众就会起来造军队和警察的反。……政府只能加强镇压，因此让公民的生活比过去更加艰难……警察的恐怖行为就会成为头等大事。……民众会拒绝跟当局合作，因此后者就会发

现，解决他们的问题的唯一办法就是从肉体上清算他们的反对者。这个国家的政治局势于是就成了军事局势。[112]

[illegible]1954[illegible]·[illegible]-[illegible]——[illegible]-[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[113][illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]400[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]SAS[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible][114][illegible][115][illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]8[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][116]

1955[illegible]8[illegible]20[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]37[illegible]10[illegible]15[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]5[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1273[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]12000[illegible]1945[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible][117]

[illegible]10[illegible]7[illegible]7[illegible]·[illegible]100[illegible]1956[illegible]6[illegible]21[illegible]24[illegible]·[illegible]1400[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]49[illegible]1956[illegible]——[illegible][118]

[illegible]·[illegible]1957[illegible]1[illegible]7[illegible]·[illegible]1879[illegible]10[illegible]8[illegible]303[illegible]1955[illegible]3[illegible]“[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]”[119][illegible]·[illegible]1958[illegible]

[120] [illegible]1970[illegible]

[illegible]

他所遭受的酷刑跟割掉鼻子或嘴唇能比吗？更不要说割掉生殖器了，那玩意儿成了穆斯林游击战士的人牲祭品，送给他们顽强抵抗的“兄弟们”。人人都知道，这些身体部件再也长不出来！[121]

[illegible]·[illegible]3000[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]100[illegible][122]

[illegible]1957[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]1958[illegible]5[illegible]

[illegible]1944[illegible]“[illegible]”[123] [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]

[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[124][illegible]

1958[illegible]5[illegible]9[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]3[illegible]4[illegible][125][illegible]3[illegible]“[illegible]”[126][illegible]5[illegible]24[illegible]1936[illegible][127]

[illegible]6[illegible]4[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[128][illegible]“[illegible]”1958[illegible]6[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]25[illegible]”[illegible]1958[illegible]10[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1959[illegible]3[illegible]“[illegible]”“[illegible]

[illegible]”[illegible]1960[illegible]1[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible]1960[illegible]3[illegible][129]

[illegible]1958[illegible]9[illegible]28[illegible]12[illegible]21[illegible]1960[illegible]2[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]4[illegible]1961[illegible]1[illegible]

[illegible]1958[illegible]5[illegible]1961[illegible]4[illegible]

[illegible]OAS[illegible]12000[illegible]500[illegible]1962[illegible]2[illegible]23[illegible]OAS[illegible]

> 一次全面攻势。……有计划地向共和国保安部队（CRS）和宪兵部队开火。朝装甲车扔燃烧瓶……不分昼夜。……［目标是］消灭从事自由职业的最优秀的穆斯林分子，迫使穆斯林求助于我们……让现有的权力部门彻底瘫痪，无法行使权力……在艺术工作及所有在某种程度上代表权力行使的工作上导致普遍不安全感的最大化，使这个国家彻底瘫痪。[130]

[illegible]OAS[illegible][131][illegible]OAS[illegible]1961[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]……[illegible]”[132]

1962[illegible]3[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]3[illegible]15[illegible]OAS[illegible]·[illegible]6[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[133] 1962[illegible]3[illegible]19[illegible]OAS[illegible]18[illegible]7[illegible]——[illegible]6[illegible]——[illegible]2[illegible]1870[illegible][134][illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]138[illegible]1963[illegible]3[illegible][135]

[illegible]25[illegible]10[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1.5[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]harkis[illegible]3[illegible]15[illegible][136]

[illegible]1962[illegible]3[illegible]18[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[137] [illegible]1960[illegible]

[illegible]60[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]——[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[138] [illegible]·[illegible]

[1] E.L. Woodward[illegible]*British Foreign Policy in the Second World War*[illegible]London 1970[illegible]IXLIV.

[2] 16 June 1943[illegible]quoted in David Dilks[illegible]ed.[illegible]*Retreat from Power*[illegible]London 1981[illegible]Ⅱ *After 1939*.

[3] William Roger Louis□*Imperialism at Bay□the United States and the Decolonization of the British Empire 1941-1945*□Oxford 1978□.

[4] Entry in Admiral Leahy's diary□9 February 1945□quoted in Terry Anderson□*The United States□Great Britain and the Cold War 1944-1947*□Colombia 1981□.

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[illegible]1960[illegible]2[illegible]21[illegible]20[illegible]"[illegible]"[illegible]1961[illegible]1[illegible]17[illegible]18[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[26][illegible]1961[illegible]9[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[27][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][28] 1965[illegible]12[illegible]“[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]”[illegible]1980[illegible][29]

1959[illegible]1960[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]19[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1952[illegible]

[illegible]1963[illegible]1[illegible]·[illegible]6[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]1964[illegible]1[illegible]·[illegible]1965[illegible]11[illegible]1[illegible]2[illegible]5[illegible]1968[illegible]1[illegible]64[illegible][30][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1960[illegible]6[illegible]3[illegible]1970[illegible]41[illegible]20[illegible][31]

[illegible][32][illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

我们和保罗·奈一起坐过牢。如果你去奈的家里，你就会发现，他种植了大量的咖啡及其他作物。你为自己做了什么？你去库拜家看看，他有一幢大房子，有一片很好的耕地。卡基亚，你为自己做了什么？我们和卡鲁姆巴一起坐过牢。如今他开着自己的车。你为自己做了什么？[33]

[illegible]18[illegible]1960[illegible]1970[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1945[illegible]

[illegible]300[illegible]1970[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]20[illegible]1945[illegible]40[illegible]30[illegible]10[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]9[illegible][34]

[illegible][35][illegible]1954[illegible]80%[illegible][36]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]4[illegible]1950[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1970[illegible]1979[illegible]

[illegible]18[illegible]1828[illegible]1970[illegible]60[illegible][37][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]1945[illegible][38]

[illegible]1911[illegible]1913[illegible][39][illegible]1920[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1922[illegible]1923[illegible]1925[illegible]1925[illegible]1926[illegible][40]

[illegible]1921[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]100[illegible]1927[illegible]29[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1930[illegible][41][illegible]

[illegible]1943[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][42][illegible]

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[illegible]1948[illegible]1935[illegible]1951[illegible]

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[illegible]1950[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

1950[illegible]H.F. [illegible]1958[illegible][44][illegible]1954[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1959[illegible]

1959[illegible]1960[illegible]·[illegible]1960[illegible]2[illegible]3[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]69[illegible][45][illegible]1956[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][46][illegible]1960[illegible]1911[illegible]1276242[illegible]400[illegible]50[illegible]15[illegible]1951[illegible]2641689[illegible]8560083[illegible]1103016[illegible]366664[illegible]1970[illegible]3752528[illegible]15057952[illegible]2018453[illegible]620

436[illegible]2000[illegible]10:1[47][illegible]8000[illegible]50000[illegible]1973[illegible]1513[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]44885[illegible]27694[illegible][48][illegible]1929[illegible]1932[illegible]

[illegible][49][illegible]1960[illegible]1962[illegible]1960[illegible]1970[illegible]1973[illegible]1974[illegible]1972[illegible]1980[illegible]60[illegible]25[illegible]250[illegible]10[illegible][50][illegible]10[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]20[illegible]1980[illegible]25[illegible]6%[illegible]25%[illegible]50%[illegible][51][illegible]1919[illegible]

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[illegible]1980[illegible]1980[illegible]230[illegible]1970[illegible]

[illegible]1950[illegible]1960[illegible]25[illegible]1960[illegible]1970[illegible]1982[illegible]1972[illegible][53][illegible]1970[illegible]“[illegible]”[54][illegible]

[illegible]1970[illegible]-[illegible]

亲爱的同僚们，的确，我的国家有4万个法国人，比独立之前还要多。但我希望10年后情况有所不同。我希望那时候有10万个法国人。我希望到那时候我们再次会面，并把你们国家的经济实力与我们国家做个对比。但是，亲爱的同僚们，恐怕到那时你们当中很少有人能够到场。[55]

[illegible]1960[illegible]1970[illegible]

[illegible]1960[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]1970[illegible][56][illegible]

1970[illegible]“[illegible]”[57][illegible]1960[illegible]1970[illegible][58][illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]1960[illegible]1960[illegible]“[illegible]”[59]1964[illegible]1[illegible]“[illegible]TANU[illegible]TANU[illegible]”[60]4[illegible]

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[62][illegible][63]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Tanzaphilia[illegible][64][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1967[illegible]2[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][65][illegible]

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单元领导必须密切监视，以便及时发现他的十户单元中出现的任何新面孔。当他看到一个陌生人的时候，他必须上前询问，弄清楚他是谁，来自何地，去往何处，将在本地区逗留多长时间，以及诸如此类。通常，东道主要向单元领导报告客人的情况，提交所有必要的信息。如果单元领导怀疑这些陌生人所讲的故事，他就必须把此事报告给上级分支的官员或警察。[67]

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[71][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

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1960[illegible]·[illegible]1965[illegible]10[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][72][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[73][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]5[illegible]·[illegible][74][illegible]1960[illegible]1966[illegible]3[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

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[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1970[illegible]1908[illegible]“[illegible]”“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[77][illegible]1963[illegible]10[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][78][illegible]·[illegible]1966[illegible]

[illegible]1971[illegible]1[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]16[illegible]8[illegible]12[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][79][illegible]1970[illegible]1[illegible]250[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]—[illegible]1971[illegible]7[illegible]5%[illegible]1972[illegible]8[illegible]1972[illegible]12[illegible][80][illegible]

[illegible]1972[illegible]3[illegible]14[illegible]131[illegible]“[illegible]”[81][illegible]·[illegible]1973[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[82][illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]1971[illegible]9[illegible]“[illegible]”[83][illegible]——[illegible][84][illegible]

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> 自从阿明篡夺权力以来，他杀死的人比罗得西亚的史密斯还要多，比南非的沃斯特还要多。但非洲有这样一种趋势：如果一个非洲人杀死其他非洲人，那就不是什么问题。……身为黑人如今正在成为杀死黑人同胞的执照。[88]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][89][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1980[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]14[illegible]“[illegible]”——[illegible][90][illegible]3[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][91]

[illegible]1960[illegible]1963[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]1965[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]4[illegible]1965[illegible]11[illegible][92]

[illegible]41[illegible][93][illegible]1958[illegible]15[illegible]3[illegible]5[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]1975[illegible]12[illegible]18[illegible]1939[illegible][94]

1973[illegible]1974[illegible]·[illegible][95][illegible]1974[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]1980[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1977[illegible]1978[illegible]1960[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

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16. [illegible]

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她对文艺工作方面在政治上很强，在艺术上也是内行，她有很多宝贵的意见……你们要很好的重视，要把江青同志的意见在思想上、组织上认真落实。今后部队关于文艺方面的文件，要送给她看。[41]

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[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]*L’Europe et la Révolution française*[illegible]1885[illegible]“[illegible]” [69] [illegible]*De l’Allemagne*[illegible]1810[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

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……对高卢人和条顿人的互补性有清醒的意识，这种互补性曾经让罗马帝国在莱茵河流域的存在变得丰饶多产，给法兰克人带来了成功，给查理曼大帝带来了光荣，为奥地利提供了合理的依据，证明了法国国王与选帝侯们之间的关系是有道理的，用法国大革命的烈焰让德国熊熊燃烧，激发了歌德、海涅、斯塔尔夫人和维克多·雨果的灵感，尽管有激烈的斗争把这两个民族纠缠在一起，但他们继续摸索着寻求穿过黑暗的道路。

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[11] Elisa Carrillo□*Alcide de Gasperi□the Long Apprenticeship*□Notre Dame 1965□□9.

[12] Elisa Carrillo□*Alcide de Gasperi□the Long Apprenticeship*□Notre Dame 1965□□23.

[13] Maria Romana Catti□*De Gasperi uomo* solo□Milan 1964□□104-11□Elisa Carrillo□*Alcide de Gasperi□the Long Appr enticeship*□Notre Dame 1965□□83-4.

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当时的政策是要除掉卡斯特罗，如果说，杀死他是我们应当做的事情之一……我们觉得，我们完全是按照这一指导原则行动。……谁也不想当着总统的面讨论暗杀外国领导人，这会让他难堪。[44]

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我们还有什么地方可以赶上他们？我们能做什么？我们能不能在他们之前登月？我们能不能在他们之前把人送上月亮。……我们能不能跳跃式前进？……是否有人能告诉我如何赶上！把这个人找出来，管他是谁。就算他是这里的看门人我也不在乎，只要他知道如何去做就行。[61]

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[illegible]H.G. [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1950[illegible]“[illegible]”[112]

[illegible]1950[illegible]C.P. [illegible][113][illegible]E.F. [illegible]1930[illegible]1960[illegible]30[illegible]1962[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]29%[illegible][114][illegible]1963[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[115]

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[illegible]1971[illegible]·[illegible]1968[illegible]“[illegible]”[126][illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][127]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1954[illegible]1957[illegible]·[illegible]1962[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]1957[illegible]1960[illegible]1964[illegible]11[illegible]1965[illegible]36%[illegible]6%[illegible]30[illegible]120%[illegible]1970[illegible]71%[illegible]82%[illegible]1971[illegible]50[illegible][128][illegible]1970[illegible][129]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1950[illegible]1960[illegible]1962[illegible]5[illegible]10[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][130][illegible]

[illegible]1964[illegible]7[illegible]18[illegible]1965[illegible]8[illegible]6[illegible]1.5[illegible]34[illegible]856[illegible]2[illegible]1960[illegible]1967[illegible]7[illegible]24[illegible]28[illegible]43[illegible]18[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][131][illegible]1968[illegible]200[illegible]

[illegible]1960[illegible]

[illegible]1960[illegible]·[illegible]1964[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]……[illegible]”[132][illegible]1967[illegible]8[illegible]*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[133][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

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1973[illegible]7[illegible]13[illegible]1982[illegible]1940[illegible]16[illegible][170][illegible]1969[illegible]2[illegible]1971[illegible]2[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[171][illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1974[illegible]8[illegible]1972[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][172]

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[illegible]1975[illegible]6[illegible]350[illegible]50[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Do Nauy[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]8[illegible]10[illegible]“[illegible]”[181] [illegible]

1976[illegible]4[illegible]1976[illegible]8[illegible]100[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]300[illegible]·[illegible]10[illegible]2[illegible]40[illegible]43[illegible]1975[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]25[illegible]1976[illegible]1

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[22] Thomas□*Cuba*□814-16.

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[illegible]1930[illegible]1933[illegible]“[illegible]”[1][illegible]1950[illegible]1960[illegible]1944[illegible]7[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1914[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]——[illegible]”[2][illegible]

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[illegible]1965[illegible]·[illegible]*Unsafe at Any Speed*[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1960[illegible]·[illegible]1964[illegible]1965[illegible]1966[illegible]1968[illegible]1970[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1976[illegible]630[illegible]30[illegible]1979[illegible]1000[illegible] [10]

[illegible]1969[illegible]19.9[illegible]1976[illegible]13.6[illegible]32% [11] [illegible]1975[illegible]1.4%[illegible] [12] [illegible]1960[illegible]1970[illegible]1967[illegible]1977[illegible]10[illegible]27%[illegible]70%[illegible]72%[illegible]107%[illegible]1970[illegible] [13]

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[illegible]1974[illegible]900[illegible][16][illegible][17][illegible]

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7[illegible]“[illegible]”5[illegible]31[illegible]“[illegible]”6[illegible]1[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”

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[illegible][29][illegible]1967[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1970[illegible]9[illegible]28[illegible]200[illegible]1967[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]1970[illegible]1971[illegible]1973[illegible]OPEC[illegible]OPEC[illegible]1965[illegible]1971[illegible]OPEC[illegible][30][illegible]1971[illegible]2[illegible]14[illegible]40[illegible]5[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][31]

[illegible]1972[illegible]7[illegible]·[illegible]1973[illegible]10[illegible]6[illegible]—[illegible]·[illegible]22[illegible]10[illegible]8[illegible]10[illegible]24[illegible][32][illegible]

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[illegible]10[illegible]24[illegible]1962[illegible]10[illegible]25[illegible]

> 我们努力执行美国的外交政策时，考虑的不仅是对选民的责任，而且还有对未来几代人的责任。我们国家正在发生的事情显露出了这样一个征兆：有人甚至可能认为，美国会为了国内的原因而让它的军队紧急待命。[33]

[illegible]OPEC[illegible]10[illegible]16[illegible]70%[illegible]12[illegible]23[illegible]128%[illegible]4[illegible]“[illegible]”[34][illegible]10[illegible]100[illegible]1960[illegible]2%[illegible][35][illegible]1970[illegible]10[illegible]1973[illegible]10[illegible]

[illegible]1974[illegible]1975[illegible]5.2%[illegible]4.1%[illegible]10%[illegible]12%[illegible]1972[illegible]1976[illegible]1945[illegible]1930[illegible][36][illegible]1980[illegible]2500[illegible]

[illegible]1973[illegible]11[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]30[illegible]26[illegible]6[illegible]1931[illegible]1974[illegible]150[illegible]1972[illegible]3[illegible]543[illegible]1975[illegible]146[illegible]1940[illegible]·[illegible]*New York Daily News*[illegible]“[illegible]”[37][illegible]

[illegible]OPEC[illegible]800[illegible]10%[illegible]370[illegible]25[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]——“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[38] [illegible]

> 假如埃克森公司付给沙特阿拉伯5000万美元，接下来发生的一切只不过是我们在借方埃克森和贷方沙特阿拉伯的账上各记一笔。花旗银行的资产负债表依然是一样的。如果他们说他们不喜欢美国的银行，他们要把钱放进瑞士信贷银行，我们所做的一切，不过是向沙特阿拉伯收取一笔费用，然后把贷方记为瑞士信贷银行：我们的资产负债表还是一样的。因此，当人们满世界乱跑，等着天塌下来的时候，却没有任何办法让这笔钱可以离开这一系统。它是一个闭环。[39]

[illegible]1980[illegible]1974[illegible]1977[illegible]1977

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□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□8000□□□□□□□□□□□[40]□□□□□1
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[illegible]1976[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible][46][illegible][47][illegible]1970[illegible]SALT1[illegible]1972[illegible]5[illegible]SALT1[illegible][48][illegible]

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[illegible][54][illegible]1955[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]4[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1958[illegible]6[illegible]

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在我们国家，并不禁止跟大多数人“想法不同”。……如果少数个人……积极地跳出来反对社会主义制度，走上反苏活动的道路，违反法律，并且由于在国内得不到支持而跑到国外、跑到帝国主义颠覆中心去寻求支持，那就是另外一回事了。我们的人民要求，应该把这样的积极分子当作社会主义的反对者、当作反对自己祖国的人、当作帝国主义的帮凶（即便不是实际上的代理人）来对待。……对他们，我们已经采取了并且会继续采取根据我们的法律设计出来的措施。[85]

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[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[124] [illegible]20[illegible]1963[illegible]*Structural Anthropology*[illegible]·[illegible]-[illegible]·[illegible]*The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

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> 在士兵们开始推倒和焚烧房屋的同时，13个孩子遭到围捕，并排站在他们父母的面前。有些士兵用铁棒戳出了孩子的眼珠。这些身体被伤残的孩子然后缓慢地被掐死。接下来轮到他们的父母。……周围的场地被夷为平地，所有的大树和灌木被连根拔起，整个场地成了一道撒满灰烬的伤疤。[53]

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[1] Published in London 1945□in New York 1946□see also *Sunday Express*□21□28 October□4 November 1945□David C. Smith□*H.G. Wells□Desperately Mortal*□Yale 1986□□476ff.

[2] President Jimmy Carter□Address to the Nation□16 July 1979.

[3] An exception was Adam Smith□who had been Professor of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow University□1752-64□though he had left academic life by the time he wrote his *The Wealth of Nations*□published in 1776.

[4] [illegible]·[illegible]1865[illegible]“[illegible]”□——[illegible]

[5] John Gribbin□*Our Changing Universe□the New Astronomy*□London 1976□.

[6] Dr Edward Tryon in *Nature*□246□1973□□393.

[7] *Wissenschaftliche Selbstbiographie* (Leipzig 1948), quoted by Thomas Kuhn in A.C. Crombie (ed.), *Scientific Change* (London 1963), 348.

[8] See Dr John Smythies in *Nature*, March 1991; Robert Matthews in the *Sunday Telegraph*, 17 March 1991, and correspondence in the *Independent*, 21 and 23 March 1991.

[9] Quotations from Ayer and Russell are in Bryan Magee, *Modern British Philosophers* (London 1971).

[10] See my essay on Russell in *Intellectuals* (London 1988), 197-224.

[11] Karl Popper, *Unended Quest: an Intellectual Autobiography* (London 1976).

[12] A.C Ewing, The linguistic theory of a priori propositions', *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society*, XI 1939-40, 217.

[13] W.V.O. Quine, *From a Logical Point of View* (New York 1953).

[14] H. Putnam, 'Is Logic Empirical?', in R.S. Cohen (ed.), *Boston Studies in the Philosophy of Science*, v 1969.

[15] Susan Haack, *Deviant Logic: some philosophical issues* (London 1974), xi

[16] J. Jay Zeman□*Modal Logic□the Lewis-modal Systems*□Oxford 1973□.

[17] David Martin□*The Religious and the Secular*□London 1969□.

[18] Edward Royle□*Victorian Infidels*□Manchester 1974□.

[19] John Henry Newman□*The Idea of a University*□London 1953□.

[20] Michael Bourdeaux□*Gorbachev□Glasnost and the Gospel*□London 1990□□87-108.

[21] Vincent C.Chrypinski□‘Polish Catholicism and Social Change’□in B.R. Bociurkiw *et al.*□eds□□*Religion and Atheism in the USSR and Eastern Europe*□London 1975□□241-59□Peter Raina□*Political Opposition in Poland 1954-77*□London 1978□□406ff.

[22] J.C.H. Aveling□*The Jesuits*□London 1981□□355-65.

[23] *Annuario Ufficiale*□Vatican City□□1978.

[24] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□15□□□□——□□□

[25] Peter Nichols□*The Pope's Divisions□The Roman Catholic Church Today*□London 1981□□22-38.

[26] Peter Nichols□*The Pope's Divisions□The Roman Catholic Church Today*□London 1981□□35ff.

[27] Edward Fashole-Like *et al.*，*Christianity in Independent Africa*（London 1979）.

[28] For a comprehensive summary of the report see the *Daily Telegraph*，Tuesday 12 March 1991.

[29] See reports in the press for the week 24 February-2 March 1991，and Christopher Booker in the *Sunday Telegraph*，24 February 1991.

[30] For two views on this process see Ivan Vallier，*Catholicism，Social Control and Modernization in Latin America*（Santa Cruz 1970），and Edward Norman，*Christianity in the Southern Hemisphere*（Oxford 1981）.

[31] Roger Bastide，*The African Religions of Brazil*（Baltimore 1978）；J.H. Rodrigues，*Brazil and Africa*（Berkeley 1965）.

[32] Bengt G.M. Sundkler，*Zulu Zion and Some Swasi Zionists*（Oxford 1976）.

[33] For a discussion of the battle between Orthodox fundamentalism and secularism in Israel see Emile Marmorstein，*Heaven at Bay：the Jewish Kulturkampf in the Holy Land*（Oxford 1969）；see also Paul Johnson，*A History of the Jews*（London 1987），546-56.

[34] For an account of the background see John Bulloch□*Death of a Country□Civil War in Lebanon*□London 1977□.

[35] William Forbis□*Fall of the Peacock Throne*□New York 1980□□45.

[36] Kayhan Research Associates□*Iran's Fifth Plan*□Teheran 1974□□Jahangir Amuzegar□*Iran□an Economic Profile*□Washington DC 1977□.

[37] William Forbis□*Fall of the Peacock Throne*□New York 1980□□237ff.

[38] William Forbis□*Fall of the Peacock Throne*□New York 1980□□73-4.

[39] Grace Goodell□'How the Shah De-Stabilized Himself'□*Policy Review*□Washington□DC□□Spring 1981.

[40] William Forbis□*Fall of the Peacock Throne*□New York 1980□□259-61.

[41] Grace Goodell□'How the Shah De-Stabilized Himself'□*Policy Review*□Washington□DC□□Spring 1981.

[42] William Forbis□*Fall of the Peacock Throne*□New York 1980□□74.

[43] □□□□□□□□□——□□□

[44] Michael A. Ledeen and William H. Lewis□‘Carter and the Fall of the Shah’□*Washington Quarterly*□Summer 1980.

[45] Shahrough Akhavi□*Religion and Politics in Contemporary Iran□Clergy-State Relations in the Pahlavi Period*□New York 1980□.

[46] Figures given by the former Iran Bar Associations in a letter to the UN Secretary-General□August 1981.

[47] See report by Amir Taheri□*Sunday Times*□23 August 1981.

[48] *Sunday Times*□6 September 1981.

[49] For Saddam Hussein's family background and childhood see John Bulloch□‘The Violent Boy from Al-Ouja’□in the *Independent on Sunday*□6 January 1991.

[50] *The Times* and *Daily Telegraph*□15 February 1989.

[51] For different versions of Soviet involvement see M. E. Yapp in *The Times Literary Supplement*□3 July 1981□753□and 25 September 1981□1101□and Anthony Arnold□*The Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan in Perspective*□Stanford 1981□□68-71.

[52] John Griffiths□*Afghanistan□Key to a Continent*□London 1981□.

[53] *The Times*□21 January 1980.

[54] *Daily Telegraph*□21 February 1980.

[55] Nancy Peabody Newell and Richard S. Newell□*The Struggle for Afghanistan*□Cornell 1981□.

[56] Quoted in Cecil Kaye□*Communism in India*□edited by Subodh Roy□Calcutta 1971□□272.

[57] Hélène Carrère d’Encausse□*Decline of an Empire□the Soviet Socialist Republics in Revolt*□tr. New York 1979□□239.

[58] Hélène Carrère d’Encausse□*Decline of an Empire□the Soviet Socialist Republics in Revolt*□tr. New York 1979□□237□240.

[59] Lenin□*Imperialism*□preface to 1921 edition.

[60] Hélène Carrère d’Encausse□*Decline of an Empire□the Soviet Socialist Republics in Revolt*□tr. New York 1979□□122-3□and 42-3 for nationalities map.

[61] Hélène Carrère d’Encausse□*Decline of an Empire□the Soviet Socialist Republics in Revolt*□tr. New York 1979□□155.

[62] This was particularly true of the 1960s and 1970s□see Brian Silver□‘The status of national minority languages in

Soviet education□an assessment of recent changes'□*Soviet Studies*□25 No□1□1974□.

[63] Y.Bitinsky□'Politics□Purge and Dissent in the Ukraine'□in L. Kamenetsky□ed.□□*Nationalism and Human Rights□Processes of Modernization in the USSR*□Colorado 1977□□P.Botychnyi□ed.□□*The Ukraine in the Seventies*□Oakville□Ontario 1975□□246□Hélène Carrère d'Encausse□*Decline of an Empire□the Soviet Socialist Republics in Revolt*□tr. New York 1979□□170-1□180□Table 37□.

[64] M. Msksudov□'Pertes subies par la population de l'URSS 1918-1958'□*Cahier du monde russe et sovietique*□March 1977□Hélène Carrère d'Encausse□*Decline of an Empire□the Soviet Socialist Republics in Revolt*□tr. New York 1979□□50-1.

[65] Hélène Carrère d'Encausse□*Decline of an Empire□the Soviet Socialist Republics in Revolt*□tr. New York 1979□□67ff.

[66] Hélène Carrère d'Encausse□*Decline of an Empire□the Soviet Socialist Republics in Revolt*□tr. New York 1979□□173-4.

[67] This was the view of John D. Durand□'The Modern Expansion of World Population'□*Proceedings of the American*

Philosophical Society□Ⅲ□June 1967□□136-59□but demographic projections are notoriously liable to error.

[68] Rostow□*World Economy*□Table I-13□25.

[69] UN *Demographic Yearbook 1971*□*Washington Post* and *Wall Street Journal*□10 July 1980.

[70] See *Whitaker's Almanac* for 1988□1989□1990□*Chronicle of the Year 1989*□London 1990□.

[71] Strobe Talbot□ed.□□*Khrushchev Remembers*□*the Last Testament*□London 1974□□120ff.□139-3.

[72] *Daily Telegraph*□*The Times*□17□18 March 1991.

[73] See‘Demographic Trends’□*South Africa 1989-90*□*Official Yearbook*□Pretoria□Cape Town 1990□□79-90.

[74] For a discussion of this and other aspects of South Africa's difficulties and their global significance□see Martin Schneider□ed.□□*South Africa*□*the Watershed Years*□Cape Town 1991□□especially 29ff.□42ff.□6Off.□70ff.□136ff.

[75] Rostow□*World Economy*□Table I-15□30.

[76] Text of constitution in H. Borton□*Japan's Modem Century*□New York 1955□□490-507.

[77] For a general treatment of the occupation□see Kazuo Kawai□*Japan's American Interlude*□Chicago 1960□.

[78] R.P. Dore□*Land Reform in Japan*□Oxford 1959□□Kurt Steiner□*Local Government in Japan*□Stanford 1965□.

[79] John M. Maki□*Court and Constitution in Japan*□Seattle 1964□.

[80] Richard Storry□*The Times Literary Supplement□5* September 1980□970□see J.W. Dower□*Empire and Aftermath□Yoshida Shigeru and the Japanese Experience□1878-1954*□Harvard 1980□.

[81] Andra Boltho□*Japan□an Economic Survey*□Oxford 1975□□8 footnote□S.Kuznets□*Economic Growth of Nations*□Harvard 1971□□30-1□38-40.

[82] Rostow□*World Economy*□275.

[83] Ezra F.Vogel□'The Challenge from Japan'□Harvard Conference on US Competitiveness□25 April 1980.

[84] J.A.A. Stockwin□*Japan□Divided Politics in a Growth Economy*□London 1975□□1-3.

[85] W.G. Beasley□*The Modern History of Japan*□London 1963 ed.□□286.

[86] Andra Boltho□*Japan□an Economic Survey*□Oxford 1975□□167-8.

[87] James Kirkup，*Heaven，Hell and Hara-Kiri*（London 1974），248-52.

[88] Quoted by Frank Gibney，‘The Ripple Effect in Korea’，*Foreign Affairs*，October 1977.

[89] See Special Issue of *Wilson Review*，Autumn 1979，for Taiwan's spectacular progress in the 1960s and 1970s.

[90] Quoted by Sampson，*The Moneylenders*，183-4.

[91] I.M.D. Little，‘The experience and causes of rapid labour-intensive development in Korea，Taiwan，Hong Kong and Singapore，and the possibilities of emulation’，*ILO Working Paper*（Bangkok 1979）.

[92] Rostow，*World Economy*，548-51.

[93] See David Nevin，*The American Touch in Micronesia*（New York 1977）；*Chronicle of the Year 1989*（London 1990），117.

[94] Stefan de Vylder，*Allende's Chile：the political economy of the rise and fall of the Unidad Popular*（Cambridge，Mass.，1976）；Brian Loveman，*Struggle in the Countryside：politics and rural labour in Chile，1919-1973*（Indiana 1976）.

[95] Ian Roxborough *et al.*，*Chile：the State and Revolution*（London 1977），146-7. Allende had told me as far back as

1960 that he had no chance of winning an election except through a split on the Right□and that the result was likely to be high inflation and a middle-class revolt.

[96] Ian Roxborough *et al.*□*Chile*□*the State and Revolution*□London 1977□□226.

[97] *Newsweek*□8 October 1973.

[98] Joseph L. Nogee and John W. Sloan□‘Allende's Chile and the Soviet Union’□*Journal of International Studies and World Affairs*□August 1979.

[99] James Boswell□*Life of Johnson* Ⅱ□London 1934□□170.

[100] W. Baer and I. Kerstenetsky□eds□□*Inflation and Growth in Latin America*□Homewood□Illinois 1964□.

[101] Quoted in Sampson□*The Moneylenders*□303.

[102] *Daily Telegraph*□6 March 1991.

[103] *Annual Review 1984*□London 1985□□8.

[104] *Annual Review 1985*□London 1986□□8-9.

[105] Statement□House of Commons□8 April 1985.

[106] Hugo Young□*The Iron Lady*□*a Biography of Margaret Thatcher*□London 1989□□532-3.

[107] Norman Lamont□mp□on the *Today Programme*□BBC Radio 4□20 March 1991.

[108] *Wilson Quarterly*□Special Issue on Mexico□Summer 1979□Michael Meyer and William Sherman□*The Course of Mexican History*□Oxford 1979□.

[109] Richard R.Fagen□'The Realities of Mexico-American Relations'□*Foreign Affairs*□July 1977.

[110] Richard R.Fagen□*Labyrinths of Power□Political Recruitment in 20th Century Mexico*□Princeton 1979□.

[111] E.L. Ullman□'Regional Development and the Geography of Concentration'□*Papers and Proceedings of the Regional Science Association*□4□1958□□197-8.

[112] H.S. Perloff *et al.*□*Regions□Resources and Economic Growth*□University of Nebraska 1960□□50.

[113] Robert Estall□'The Changing Balance of the Northern and Southern Regions of the United States'□*Journal of American Studies*□Cambridge□□December 1980.

[114] Ben J.Wattenburg□'A New Country□America 1984'□*Public Opinion*□Washington DC□□Oct-Nov 1979.

[115] Ronald Reagan□*An American Life□an Autobiography*□New York 1990□□135.

[116] Ronald Reagan□*An American Life□an Autobiography*□New York 1990□□335-6.

[117] *The Statesman's Yearbook 1990-l*□1399ff□1413.

[118] *An American Life*□334-5.

[119] *Discriminate Deterrence□Report of the Commission on Integrated Long-Term Strategy*□Washington DC 1988□□5-7.

[120] *An American Life*□449-51.

[121] See my article in the *Observer*□30 October 1983.

[122] *An American Life*□517-8.

[123] For the events which led up to the S-20s and Cruise deployment□see Jonathan Haslam□*The Soviet Union and the Politics of Nuclear Weapons in Europe□1969-77*□Cornell UP 1990□.

[124] *An American Life*□234-5.

[125] For a general discussion of the US rearmament programme as it evolved in the 1980s see the account by Reagan's Defence Secretary□Caspar Weinberger□*Fighting For Peace*□New York 1990□.

[126] See Paul Johnson□'Europe and the Reagan Years'□and Robert W. Tucker□'Reagan's Foreign Policy'□in'America a

nd the World□1988-9’□a special issue of *Foreign Affairs*□68□1989□.

[127] *An American Life*□568-70□which gives the key passages from the Orlando speech.

[128] No personal biography of the Soviet leader has been published and details of Gorbachev's life proved difficult to obtain□some were published in the *Sunday Correspondent* colour supplement□25 February 1990.

[129] For details of the changes in Russia during the 1980s□see Geoffrey Hosking□*The Awakening of the Soviet Union*□Harvard 1990□□who shows that some of the changes began before Gorbachev.

[130] For an overall view of this subject see Thane Gustafson□*Crisis and Plenty□the Politics of Soviet Energy under Brezhnev and Gorbachev*□Princeton 1989□.

[131] Reagan's detailed personal account of the Geneva meeting is in *An American Life*□633-41.

[132] For contrasting views see‘The American 1980s□Disaster or Triumph□a Symposium’□special issue of *Commentary*□September 1990□see also Larry Berman□ed.□□*Looking Back on the Reagan Presidency*□Baltimore 1990□□and W.G. Hyland□*The Cold War is Over*□New York 1990□.

[133] To the author，this was also Margaret Thatcher's view.

[134] *An American Life*，639.

[135] The *Telegraph* reporter was the author's eldest son，Daniel Johnson.

[136] From *Marx-Engels Werke*（East Berlin 1956-68），iii 569-71.

[137] For the Ceausescu regime，see Edward Behr，*Kiss the Hand You Cannot Bite*（London 1991）；John Sweeney，*The Life and Evil Times of Nicolae Ceaucescu*（London 1991）.

[138] This figure，like most others connected with recent Romanian events，is unreliable；John Sweeney（*The Life and Evil Times of Nicolae Ceaucescu*，London 1991）believes no more than fifty were shot.

[139] This figure，like most others connected with recent Romanian events，is unreliable；John Sweeney（*The Life and Evil Times of Nicolae Ceaucescu*，London 1991）believes no more than fifty were shot.

[140] See，for instance，‘The End of the Honeymoon’，*Daily Telegraph*，25 March 1991.

[141] Reported on the BBC *Money Programme*, 10 March 1991.

[142] See M.E. Porter, *The Competitive Advantage of Nations* (New York 1990).

[143] For the events leading up to the war, see John Bulloch and Harvey Morris, *Saddam's War: the origins of the Kuwait conflict and the international response* (London 1991).

[144] For details and dates of the events leading up to the Iraqi invasion, and the Allied response, see the following special newspaper supplements: London *Times*, 16 January 1991; *Daily Mail*, 1 March 1991; *Daily Telegraph*, 2 March 1991; *Sunday Telegraph*, 3 March 1991.

[145] The major ground components of the Allied force were: United States 320,000; United Kingdom 25,000; Saudi Arabia 40,000; Syria 12,000; France 10,000; Egypt 35,000.

[146] Figures vary and must be regarded as estimates until official war histories are published. I have taken these from the *Daily Telegraph* supplement of 2 March 1991.

[147] For these and other figures see *Chronicle of the Twentieth Century*, 1294-5.

[148] For various examples see David Israelson, *Silent Earth: the Politics of Survival* (Ontario 1990), esp. 227-50.

[149] Sarah Johnson in the *Sunday Telegraph*, 4 February 1991.

[150] Conor Cruise O’Brien, ‘Devaluing the University’, London *Times*, 5 March 1991; David Lehman, *Signs of the Times: Deconstruction and the Fall of Paul de Man* (New York 1991).

[151] See Dinesh D'sousa, *Illiberal Education: The Politics of Race and Sex on Campus* (New York 1991).

[152] Martin Fletcher in the *Times*, 16 March 1991.

[153] James Watson, *The Double Helix: being a personal account of the discovery of the structure of dna* (New York 1977).

[154] Franklin Portugal and Jack Cohen, *A Century of DNA: a history of the discovery of the structure and function of the genetic substance* (Massachusetts Institute of Technology 1977).

[155] Nicholas Wade, *The Ultimate Experiment: man-made evolution* (New York 1977).

[156] *Nature*, 17 September 1981, 176.

[157] Quotations from Edward Wilson□*Sociobiology*□Harvard 1975□and *On Human Nature*□Harvard 1979□.